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ABSTRACT

GRADES OR AGES: Grade 12. SUBJECT MATTER: Sociology; modern problems. ORGANIZATION AND PHYSICAL APPEARANCE: The guide contains two units, one on the problems of minority groups and the other on social pathology. Sub-sections of unit 2 include crime and criminals, criminal investigation, gun control, U.S. criminal law, criminal procedure, punishment, juvenile delinquency, drugs, and capital punishment. Each unit has the following sections: introduction, objectives, generalizations and activities, duplicated resources, transparency masters, and bibliography. The guide is lithographed and spiral bound with a soft cover. OBJECTIVES AND ACTIVITIES: Basic objectives are included in the introductory material, while more detailed objectives are set out at the beginning of each unit. Detailed activities are listed for each unit, together with the resource materials required. INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS: Each unit includes extensive duplicated resource material, transparency masters, and lengthy bibliography. STUDENT ASSESSMENT: Suggestions are included in the introductory material for methods of student self-evaluation, teacher-student conference, teacher observation and evaluation, teacher-made tests, and standardized tests. (MBM)

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FOREWORD

These two units for the twelfth grade modern problems course were written during the summer of 1968 by Mrs. Lois Fennig and Mr. Marshall Carlson, members of the faculties of Kennedy and Lincoln High Schools in Bloomington, Minnesota.

With a very limited time available for writing, it was decided that the best plan would be to concentrate upon developing two units and that the sociological area was most in need of organization. The two units developed are "The Problems of Minority Groups" and "Social Pathology." Since the Family Life guide contains a twelfth grade sociological program, three sociological units are presently available.

The guide identifies objectives, suggests activities and lists resources. The objectives as stated in the guide concern the development of sound generalizations, social studies skills and healthy social attitudes. Problems are formulated within a conceptual framework to stimulate maximum student reaction and involvement in the issues. Suggested activities have been identified after research into the methods of the "New Social Studies," especially inductive "discovery" approaches. Various national projects have provided ideas for activities and it is hoped that even greater reliance upon these projects will be possible as their materials are published. Many resources have been identified and include multi-text and multi-media materials to be found within the two senior high school buildings and the Instructional Materials Center. Composite bibliographies of materials available in the two high school libraries have been compiled.

The writers of this guide wish to express their thanks to the other teachers who have made their ideas available and especially to the ideas inherent in two national projects, "Minnesota Project Social Studies" and the project on stereotypes developed by "Sociological Resources for Secondary Schools."

BASIC OBJECTIVES - UNITS I AND II

CONCEPTS BASED UPON GENERALIZATIONS	ABILITIES AND SKILLS	AFFECTIVE ATTITUDES
<u>Unit I</u> Minority group Differential treatment Dominant groups Cultural values Prejudice Discrimination Rationalization Racism Physical differences Learned behavior Equality	Attacks problems in a rational manner Locates information efficiently Gathers information effectively Evaluates information and sources Organizes and analyzes information Draws conclusions Works well with others	Values the scientific method Values rational thought Is committed to free examination Respects evidence Is sceptical of the finality of knowledge Demands empirical verification Believes in the values of the social sciences Is sceptical of theories of single causation Is sceptical of panaceas Feels responsibility to keep informed Believes that social improvement is possible Feels responsibility to take informed action Values human dignity Evaluates in terms of effects
<u>Unit II</u> Society Groups Communication Interaction Socialization Internalization Values Behavior Interdependence Social problems Conflict Expectations Causation Societal goals Deviant behavior Psychological rewards Self-debate Prevention Rehabilitation		

TECHNIQUES FOR EVALUATING OBJECTIVES

Evaluation of the objectives of these units is a valuable and essential part of the learning process. It provides the open-endedness to learning which is so essential. By using evaluation the teacher helps the individual and the group assess their acquired skills and learnings but immediately applies this assessment to new and more complex learnings.

The scope of evaluation is wide and may be applied to the individual, the group, the process, or the total program. Because it is difficult to isolate any of these, it would seem that the evaluation should be concerned with all of the involved inter-relationships.

Techniques that we will use to measure the assimilation of skills and abilities and affective objectives by the students will be the following:

A. STUDENT SELF-EVALUATION

Students will be constantly evaluating and re-evaluating the validity of their conclusions through research and discussion.

Periodically the group should be given the opportunity to discuss the manner in which they handle discussion of a problem. The central topic should be "how can we improve our discussion techniques individually and as a group?"

B. TEACHER-STUDENT CONFERENCE

During the conference the teacher would use this opportunity to give personal attention to the student and his progress.

This time could also be used for a short discussion of his participation in the program.

The conference also presents an opportunity for the teacher to assess attitudes and changing attitudes from the conversation of the student. This conference presents an opportunity to assess the effect of the stated objectives of the units on the student.

C. TEACHER OBSERVATION AND EVALUATION

The alert teacher will seize the opportunity to observe and evaluate the continual growth of the student and the group toward mastery of the objectives of the course. Any information about individuals within the group that the teacher gains in this manner can be discussed with the student at an opportune moment or at the time of the student-teacher conference.

Through observation, evaluation will focus upon subjective factors inherent in the program.

D. TEACHER-MADE TESTS

Tests used within this course of study will be varied in character. The tests will be designed to cause the student to recall general principles and concepts rather than isolated, seemingly non-related facts.

Tests will evaluate skills, attitudes and knowledge.

E. STANDARDIZED TESTS

The standardized tests given during the senior high school years should be relied upon as important instruments in evaluating the social studies program.

An area of great concern should be the use of attitudinal tests and attempts will be made to identify and administer these.

UNIT I

PROBLEMS OF MINORITY GROUPS

UNIT I - THE PROBLEMS OF MINORITY GROUPS

INTRODUCTION

The focus of this unit is upon the sociological aspects of minority group problems today in contrast to the new tenth grade unit which emphasizes the problems of minority groups in terms of the historical perspective.

Through the development of sound generalizations regarding race and religion and through the development of social studies skills and knowledge of sociology as a social science discipline it is hoped that attitudes consonant with the best American ideals and values will result and that the building of healthy racial and other inter-group relations will be furthered.

Inductive teaching methods are encouraged through the activities which have been identified and the resources given include multi-text and multi-media materials.

Extensive aids in the form of duplicated resources and transparency masters are given at the end of the unit and the unit bibliography includes materials to be found in the libraries of both Kennedy and Lincoln High School. Reference is made in the units to IMC materials.

UNIT I - PROBLEMS OF MINORITY GROUPS

OBJECTIVES

A. Generalizations

1. A minority group is a particular group that receives differential treatment by the dominant group in society because the members of the minority group share certain racial, ethnic or religious similarities which are considered to be different from, or inferior to, the traits of the dominant group.
2. This differential treatment presents a problem to society because of the conflict with our basic cultural values and because of wide-ranging effects upon society as a whole and on individual members of society.
3. Prejudice of the dominant group is a cause for this differential treatment.
4. The causes of prejudice which lead to discrimination are many and varied.
5. People try to work out rationalizations for behavior which are inconsistent with their basic values. Racism is a relatively recent development which has served as a rationalization for discrimination against other races.
6. Human beings are far more alike physically than they are different.
7. History and research show that prejudice and discrimination are learned through interaction over time.
8. In recent times as concern for problems from differential treatment has increased, varied movements and activities have developed in the search for equality.

B. Skills

1. Attacks problems in a rational manner
2. Locates information efficiently
3. Gathers information effectively
4. Evaluates information and sources of information
5. Organizes and analyzes information and draws conclusions
6. Works well with others

C. Attitudes

1. Values the scientific method and rational thought as applied to social as well as to natural data
2. Is committed to the free examination of social attitudes and data
3. Respects evidence even when it contradicts prejudices and preconceptions
4. Is sceptical of the finality of knowledge and demands that popular notions be judged in accordance with standards of empirical verification
5. Believes that the social sciences can contribute to men's welfare by providing information and explanatory generalizations which help them achieve their goals
6. Is sceptical of theories of single causation in the social sciences
7. Is sceptical of panaceas
8. Feels a sense of responsibility for keeping informed about current problems

9. Believes in the possibilities of improving social conditions
10. Has a sense of responsibility for taking informed action about problems confronting the nation
11. Values human dignity
12. Evaluates proposals and events on the basis of their effects upon individuals as human beings
13. Treats people as individuals, not as members of a particular group
14. Desires to protect the rights of minorities

UNIT I - PROBLEMS OF MINORITY GROUPS

GENERALIZATIONS

1. A minority group is a particular group that receives differential treatment by the dominant group in society, because the members of the minority group share certain racial, ethnic or religious similarities which are considered to be different from, or inferior to, the traits of the dominant group.

ACTIVITIES

1. Have the class read briefly from chosen materials then together define "minority group" and identify several such groups.
2. Have each student quickly define "minority group" on a sheet of paper. Collect them and in going through them in class together reach a definition.
3. Although the chief focus of this unit will probably be on Negro-White relations, have some members of the class or all of the class investigate other minority group problems in this country, make a presentation of their findings to the class and then have the class compare the situation faced by these minority group members and that faced by the Negroes.

RESOURCES

Definition of Minority Groups (examples), 1964
Landis, Sociology, pp 386-393
(Minority Groups of the United States)

2. This differential treatment presents a problem to society because of the conflict with our basic cultural values and because of wide-ranging effects upon society as a whole and on individual members of society.

1. Show the slide and tape series of the Negro in America. Have buzz groups discuss fine problems they saw, or do as a class.
2. Use tape of Louis Lomax and discuss the problems presented. Also a tape by John Griffin.
3. Use current news articles, such as the series on poverty in the Minneapolis Tribune to stimulate discussion about the problems in our own area.
4. Discuss recent events to illustrate growing demands for equal rights and to show increased importance of minority problems.
5. Show film "A Day in the Night of Jonathan Mole." Have buzz groups or entire class use material from the film to define minority group or to use incidents to show problems to society.

Correlated slides and tape by Dan Conrad.

Louis Lomax tape,
John Griffin tape

Minneapolis Star Series on poverty

GENERALIZATIONS

ACTIVITIES

6. Students could make their own slide or picture presentation of the problems of minority groups. The topics could be more defined such as, housing, education, etc.
7. Over a period of time the students could collect material from various mass media to illustrate their interpretation of the problems of minority groups.
8. Use of text or reading materials - students could discover or identify the problems.
9. Use of films to identify problems of minority groups.
10. Use of speakers to relate the problems of their minority group, from their perspective.
11. Class discussion or small group discussion; "What do they see to be the causes of this differential treatment." The unit goes on to explore these.
12. Have pupils look at current tables on unemployment among Negroes as compared to White people, average incomes among Negroes and Whites, average incomes among Negroes and Whites of similar educational background, and perceptions of Negroes about their economic opportunities. Compare these tables with similar tables for the early 1960's. Discuss: What has happened to economic opportunity among the Negroes? Does it make any difference whether we are talking about different educational levels among Negroes?

RESOURCES

Horton & Hunt, Sociology
pp 383-401

"Harvest of Shame"- IMC
"Walk in My Shoes"- U of M
"Superfluous People"- U of M

Use Reader's Guide to locate most recent information.
For tables and figures showing changes from 1939 to 1964 and even some 1966 figures, see Ferman, et al, eds., Negroes and Jobs, pp 10, 14, 16-17, 19, 24, 63, 65, 92-95, 124, 71
Franklin & Starr, eds., Negro in 20th Century America, p 493

For Negro perceptions in 1966 and 1963, see Brink & Harris, Black and White, pp 222-225

12. (continued)

How do Negroes perceive their economic opportunities today? How important are their perceptions as compared to the actual situation? Why? Also discuss the sources of the data and samples used in collecting the data.

See also the widely re-printed Harris Survey on "The Racial Gap" for April 18, 1968

13. Have a pupil report on discriminatory practices in labor unions and apprenticeship and training programs. Then discuss: How would such practices affect the job opportunities of Negroes and other minority groups? Also have pupils look at a table on Negro's perceptions of labor unions 1963 and 1966.

Ferman, et al, eds., Negroes and Jobs, pp 277-322. For table on perceptions see pp 234-235 of Brink & Harris, Black and White

14. Have pupils look at current articles and tables dealing with housing and Negro perceptions of discrimination in housing. Compare this data with data for the early 1960's. Discuss: How much has the situation changed? Has the Negro perception of the housing situation changed much? Also have pupils examine tables on health and sanitation conditions in Negro ghettos.

Use Reader's Guide to locate current data.

For Negro's perception of housing in 1963 and 1966 see Brink & Harris, Black and White, pp 224-225, 228-229

For sanitation and health see Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, pp 269-273

Also see Jacobs, Prelude to Riot, sections on housing and health.

15. Have several students check with local social agencies about any recent studies of housing in different parts of the city. If possible, they should prepare maps and graphs to illustrate findings about differences in housing conditions in areas with large minority group populations and those without large groups of these people.

16. Show the class a table on the median number of years of schooling for whites and non-whites in the U.S. in 1960. Use current data for comparison if possible.
Ferman, et al, eds., Negroes and Jobs, p 47
For current data see U.S. Office of Education figures or use Reader's Guide to locate data.
17. Invite a representative of a local human rights commission or a representative of a minority group in the local area to tell the class about kinds of social discrimination which he thinks still exist in the city or state, other than in housing or education.
18. Show the class tables on Negroes' perceptions of changes in social discrimination between 1963 and 1966. Discuss the data presented.
Brink & Harris, Black and White, pp 226-228
19. Have several students investigate the attitudes of local social clubs, auto clubs, athletic clubs, etc. toward minority group membership.
20. Hold a discussion on the residual effects of past discrimination upon the ability of minority group members to take advantage of new legal rights. Also discuss the effects of continued social discrimination of various kinds upon their economic opportunities.
21. Show the class current tables on percentages of Negroes who are registered to vote in Southern states. Compare these tables with similar tables for years prior to the Voting Act of 1965. Discuss: What has happened to voting registration among Negroes since the Voting Rights Act was passed? Why aren't even more Negroes registered to vote?
Sobel, ed., Civil Rights 1960-1966, p 428 (1966 figures)
Ferman, et al, eds., Negroes and Jobs, p 52 (1952 and 1962 figures)

22. (continued)

Draw upon students reading to discuss types of retaliation which have been used by Whites against people who have tried to organize Negro registration drives. Or have students read about examples of such retaliation. Also have pupils investigate the degree to which the law has been enforced. They should use the Reader's Guide to locate current articles on this topic. Also discuss: Do all White people register to vote? Why not? Which groups are least likely to register and vote? Why might you expect the same thing to be true among minority group members? (Review what students have learned previously, or show them tables illustrating the data needed.)

For a description of registration drives, see Walters & Cleghorn, Climbing Jacob's Ladder, The Arrival of Negroes in Southern Politics.

Franklin & Starr, eds., Negro in 20th Century America, p 373

3. Prejudice of the dominant group is a cause for this differential treatment.

See duplicated resources at end of unit.

1. Using Carlson's "What Would You Do" test or "Sensitivity Survey" have students take notes identifying themselves, collect and tabulate the results. Discuss these in class.

2. Using skits, role playing, sociodrama, have students become involved in situation where prejudice and discrimination are shown to members of a minority group. Examples of situations could be; applying for a job, renting or buying a place to live, signing into a resort or hotel where they had reservations but when they came they are told there is no space available.

3. Students could read a novel or biography to gain understanding of the real feelings of members of minority groups.

GENERALIZATIONS

ACTIVITIES

4. Committee appointed to investigate the extent of prejudice in local community in a particular area such as, jobs, moving into neighborhood, etc. Report findings to class.
5. Individual or group collection of news articles that illustrate prejudice. Discuss in class; try to discover reason for the prejudice. What person or organization is responsible for the article? What are they trying to accomplish and why?
6. Teacher read excerpts showing situations of prejudice and discrimination.
7. Using reading materials, have students read in class and then combine ideas as to reasons they see for this differential treatment of minority group members.
8. Interview minority family that has moved into area to see what prejudice they have encountered. Or interview social worker or person involved with the problems of prejudice in local community. Report back to class the findings.
9. Use films to show prejudice and discrimination.

RESOURCES

- Rose, They and We, pp 130-135
- Senior Scholastic, Jan. 11, 1968
- Horton & Hunt, Sociology, pp 78-86
- Landis, Sociology, 1964
pp 96, 97, 394-405, 138-153
- Quinn, Living in Social Groups
1967, pp 123-125
- "A Day in the Night of Jonathan Mole" - IMC
- "No Hiding Place" U of M
- "All The Way Home" U of M
- "A Time for Burning" U of Illinois

10. Talks by resource persons from minority group, or human rights leaders or workers, etc.
11. Exchange visit with minority area schools.
12. Invite a member of the Negro community living in a poorer area of a large city to class to discuss the reactions of Negroes to their treatment by police and courts. Then invite a representative of the police department to class to present its view. (Alternative: You could have pupils read accounts of unequal treatment.)
13. Show the class tables presenting the results of studies which have shown that young Negro children frequently take on the views of White people toward the Negro race. Ask: How can you account for this data? Review what students learned in earlier years about role perceptions and the development of a self concept through the process of socialization. Discuss: How do these concepts help explain this data?
14. Use some reading of biographical fiction materials dealing with minority groups to help pupils identify with minority group members in order to better understand their feelings. Point out the need for such understanding if pupils are to understand the actions of protest movements. Although pupils read biographies and fiction dealing with discrimination in the unit on intergroup relations in the seventh grade, they can now read much more adult materials and more current books.

Mississippi, Black Paper Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, pp 302-307

Jacobs, Prelude to Riot, (section on police)

Rose & Rose, eds., Minority Problems, pp 260-263

Saenger, Social Psychology of Prejudice, pp 26-27

Goodman, Race Awareness in Young Children

See bibliography at end of unit for some titles.

Use other books from your library and add current books each year.

GENERALIZATIONS

ACTIVITIES

RESOURCES

14. (continued)
After pupils have done the reading, hold a general class discussion on the questions:
How would you feel if you had been the minority group members described in your books? How do you think you would act? Some of you have read books about the situation since the passage of the 1964 and 1965 Civil Rights Acts. How much do the people in your books think the situation has changed as a result of these acts?

4. The causes of prejudice which lead to discrimination are many and varied.
5. People try to work out rationalizations for behavior which are inconsistent with their basic values. Racism is a relatively recent development which has served as a rationalization for discrimination against other races.

1. Use text or similar reading about prejudice and have groups or class list probable causes for prejudice.

2. Use materials to illustrate stereotypes. Why do minority groups fit some stereotypes? Discuss the relationship between discrimination and stereotypes.

3. Students collect and display examples of stereotypes in cartoons, jokes, stories, etc.

4. Hold a general class discussion on the question: What do you think may be the cause of prejudice and discrimination against minority groups in this country? If students do not themselves use sociological concepts in their formation of hypotheses, ask: What sociological concepts which you have learned earlier might provide possible leads to an answer to this question? Have the class develop a series of hypotheses and if/then statements to guide the collection of data to test these hypotheses. Then divide the class into groups to try to investigate each hypothesis.

Allport, Nature of Prejudice

Senior Scholastic, January 11, 1968

Irwin, Minorities in the United States, Oxford Social Studies Pamphlet pp 1-10

Powdermaker, Probing Our Prejudices

Materials on Stereotypes included at end of unit

4. (continued)

If the class does not come up with any hypotheses about frustration or personality factors as causes of prejudice and discrimination, do the following to stimulate hypothesis-making and lead to the establishment of groups to investigate the hypotheses further.

- a) Ditto or present figures on the board on the results of studies related to the effects of frustration upon prejudice. For example, give the class the results of the study by Miller and Bugelski, who used attitude tests before and after a long exam which kept boys from attending the bank night at the local movie theater. Also present results of the study by Cowen and others of the effects on prejudice of an experiment in frustration of college students. In addition, give the results of the Frenkel-Brunswick study of prejudiced sixth to eighth graders. Let students set up theories to explain this data.

- b) Give pupils the results of the Hartley studies on prejudice toward non-existent groups. Ask pupils: What hypotheses would you suggest as possible explanations of this data? Now give pupils the results of some of Hartley's follow-up work to test his hypothesis that prejudice might be generalized. Then give pupils data found in the study on the relationship of prejudice to the authoritarian personality. Ask them to set up hypotheses about prejudice which might explain this data.

These studies are described in Simpson and Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities pp 54-56 Also Chap. 3 to examine the limitations of the theory.

For data, see Simpson & Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities, pp 62-65

4. (continued)

If no one comes up with any hypotheses related to the group conflict theory or to the cultural learning theory, you might suggest that these are theories which have been suggested by social scientists. The class might try to develop if/then statements to test these hypotheses also, and groups might be selected to check on the hypotheses. (The teacher should be able to get pupils to suggest such hypotheses themselves by asking questions.)

5. Have the groups which have investigated the frustration thesis and the authoritarian personality theory present their findings to the class. Each should study criticisms of the theories before making their presentations. They should present evidence for and against the theories in order to help class members assess the usefulness and limitations of the theories. After each presentation, be sure to discuss: Do you think that the data supports your hypotheses? Why or why not? Do you think that the data provides support for a more limited or a modified hypothesis? Why or why not?

e.g. see; Simpson & Yinger
Racial and Cultural Minorities
pp 65-79

Allport, Nature of Prejudice
Chaps. 15, 21, 22, 25

Saenger, Social Psychology
of Prejudice, Chaps 8-9

Raab & Selznick, Major
Social Problems, pp 210-213

6. Have the group of students investigating the conflict theory present a panel discussion on the question: To what extent can prejudice and discrimination against minorities in this country be explained by the theory it is a weapon in group conflict? Afterwards the class should test its original hypothesis against the data and decide whether or not to reject it, accept it, or to limit it in order to fit the data better.

e.g. see; Simpson & Yinger
Racial and Cultural Minorities
Chap. 4

Raab & Selznick, Major Social
Problems, pp 220-221

7. Have the group of students who have investigated the culture learning hypothesis about prejudice present a panel discussion on the question: To what extent can prejudice and discrimination be explained by cultural learning or socialization? Afterwards have the class test the hypothesis against the data presented by the panel and other data presented earlier. Also ask: Why do you think that those who accept this cultural-learning theory hold out high hopes for the effects of civil rights legislation as a means of reducing prejudice and other discrimination?

8. Now have the class discuss: To what extent does any one theory explain prejudice and discrimination against specific minority groups in this country? What factors must be considered in attempting to explain this prejudice and discrimination? How can an analysis of factors be helpful to anyone trying to decide what might be done to reduce prejudice and discrimination?

9. Summarize the costs of prejudice and discrimination to minority groups and then explore the costs to the White majority. This summary and exploration could include an analysis of the psychological costs. You may wish to have pupils read some articles or sections in books describing the costs to majority group members before you hold this discussion. You might also have a student prepare a chart showing the estimated costs of some recent riot. Another pupil might check with welfare agencies and the local fire department on differences in costs for areas which are heavily populated by minority groups as against other areas of the city.

Simpson & Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities
Chap 5

Allport, Nature of Prejudice
Chap 18

Saenger, Social Psychology of Prejudice, Chap 10

Raab & Selznick, Major Social Problems, pp 213-214, 216, 220

Simpson & Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities,
Chap 8

GENERALIZATIONS

ACTIVITIES

RESOURCES

9. (continued)

You should be able to develop the costs related to our relations with other countries by drawing upon what pupils have learned in earlier grades.

6. Human beings are far more alike physically than they are different.

1. Use of films to show the scientific reason for physical differences between races. Article does a similar presentation. Discuss these in class.

Films:

"Color of Man" - IMC
"Boundary Lines" - U of M

Articles:

"Why People are Black, Brown, Yellow or White"
What the scientists say.

2. Study the article, "And the Race Problem", U.S. News and World Report, November 18, 1963 and evaluate the position presented. Give and support your conclusion.

3. Set up a debate on the topic: "Resolved, The Caucasian Race is Superior to the Negroid Race." Buzz groups or class reactions to which material was most conclusive and why?

Landis, Sociology, 1964
pp 14-27

Quinn, Living in Social Groups, 1967. pp 116-119

Horton & Hunt, Sociology, 1964. pp 375-383

Rose and Rose, Minority Problems

Bibby, Race, Prejudice and Education

Mason, Common Sense About Races

4. Review the analysis of race and intelligence in terms of kinds of tests used, the relationship of education and class membership to test results, etc.

Ferman, et. al., Negroes and Jobs, pp 161-174 (race and intelligence)

Allport, Nature of Prejudice.
Chap 7

GENERALIZATION

ACTIVITIES

RESOURCES

Saenger, Social Psychology of Prejudice, Chaps 4,5

Simpson and Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities, Chap 2

7. History and research show that prejudice and discrimination are learned through interaction over time.

1. Use Senior Scholastic for reading on general background and/or overall review.

Senior Scholastic, January 18, 1968

Frazier, The Negro in the United States, pp 1-53, 82-98, 103-164

2. Use as a springboard to research or enrichment on individuals, subjects, periods of time, or movements.

3. Use films to show the history of prejudice and discrimination of the Negro in the United States.

Films - U of Illinois History of the Negro in America series:
 "Out of Slavery" 21 min.
 "The Civil War and Reconstruction" 20 min.
 "Freedom Movement" (1977 to today) 22 min.

or
 History of Negro People series"
 "Slavery" 20 min.
 "Free at Last" 30 min.

4. Use of case studies to show laws upholding racial discrimination in United States, such as Plessy vs Ferguson.

Tussman, The Supreme Court on Racial Discrimination
 McCutchen, Goals of Democracy, Chap 10

5. Report on books such as, The Strange Career of Jim Crow.

Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow

Noble, Dr., The Negro in American History - IMC

See bibliography, current books, and Reader's Guide

6. Use tape to show images of Negro in American history.
7. Ask: What kinds of things have minority groups, and particularly Negroes in this country, done to try to get equality? List all of the actions and movements of which pupils are aware at this time. Then identify some of the major movements and have the class investigate these further. They should try to find out about the purposes of each organization, the techniques it uses to achieve its goals, its past successes and accomplishments, difficulties it has faced, and whether or not it seems to be achieving more or less than in the past.

The investigations may be carried out by the class as a whole, by individuals, or by groups of students. If the work is done by individuals and/or small groups, urge them to use some form of presentation other than a panel or symposium. They might role-play discussions between leaders of a group or between a leader of a group and a group of Negroes from a slum area. They might prepare bulletin board displays which they can explain to the class. They might prepare written materials of various kinds. They might combine a presentation of their own with a presentation by a speaker from the group investigated. In this case they should prepare the class for the speaker and develop a series of questions to ask him.

After the presentations have been made, have the class discuss the following questions:

- a) Do you think any of the protest movements should be classified as revolutionary movements? Why or why not?
- b) What factors made for the success which the different movements have had? What factors slowed down progress after 1965? (Be sure to analyze some of the points suggested in the outline of content.)
- c) Which groups seem to be gaining support among the Negroes? What methods do they advocate?
- d) How has the division arising among the different groups as to methods affected the success of the movement?
- e) How do you think we can account for the passage of the 1968 Civil Rights Bill? Do you think conditions have changed enough to provide the impetus for further changes in the direction of equality? Why or why not?

8. Use the case study on Negro leadership when it becomes available. Follow the suggestions in the study guide for this case. This case should help pupils understand better both the concept of relative deprivation and the concept of situational leadership. It should help pupils understand changing leadership and tactics of the Protest Movement. The case study also provides a good lead into the activity described in the next paragraph.

Leadership in American Society, A Case Study of Negro Leadership

See teacher's manual and student manual. Produced by Sociological Resources for Secondary Schools. (At present not available for general distribution; however, should be available shortly.)

Whether or not you use the case study on Negro leadership, show the class tables comparing current and past attitudes of Negroes to different groups and leaders of groups.

Brink & Harris, Black and White, pp 244-257

Ask: Do you see any trend here in the type of movement or leader which is gaining and the type losing? Which kind of movement seems to have more support among the poorer Negroes? Among those who are better off economically? In the North? In the South? Ask: Does this data support your conclusions which you drew as a result of the data presented by other students in class?

9. Now show the class a table presenting the reactions of Negroes to questions in the Newsweek survey of 1966 about whether or not the Negroes could get along without White help in their drive for equality. Also show tables on White reactions to civil rights. Use these tables to initiate a discussion of the role which the White community might play. In this introduction to the last part of the unit, raise the following questions:

- a) What seemed to cause the decline in White support for new legislation between 1965 and 1968? What seemed to provide the impetus for the passage of the 1968 bill?
- b) To what extent does there seem to be agreement among the members of the White community about the need for further action?

10. Several groups of students or individuals might also investigate movements of other minority groups. They could compare them in terms of goals, tactics and degree of success with those of the Negro movements.

Brink & Harris, Black and White, pp 262-265, and Chaps 5,6

Franklin & Starr, Negro in 20th Century America, pp 211-216, 494

Use examples from local community if possible.

GENERALIZATIONS

ACTIVITIES

RESOURCES

11. Review what pupils learned earlier about prejudice and discrimination and about legislative and judicial decisions about discrimination.
12. Use current articles, events and data to arouse greater interest in the study of prejudice and discrimination and a study of the protest movements as well as to find out the extent to which civil rights legislation has affected discrimination.

8. In recent times as concern for problems from differential treatment has increased, varied movements and activities have developed in the search for equality

1. Assigned reading on "Growing expectations of the Negro in America after World War II." Use follow-up activity, such as class discussion, panel, individual reports, etc.
2. Use as a case study the Brown vs Board of Education case to illustrate the first major change in court decisions.

Blaustein and Fergeson,
Desegregation and the Law

Tussman, The Supreme Court on Racial Discrimination

3. Use film to show progress of school desegregation.

"The Other Face of Dixie" -
U of M

4. Use film to show continued progress of passive resistance.

"The Sit-Ins" - U of M
"Proudfoot, Diary of a Sit-In"

5. Use tape of talk on Selma March (the experiences of a Northern minister who took part in this march.)

6. Game or simulation of the class acting as Senate during passage of 1964 Civil Rights Bill. Each student will be asked to represent a state or two and uphold that state's views in the process of passage.

7. Use the 1964 Civil Rights Bill to illustrate progress that was made at that time.

8. Bring the class up to date on Civil Rights legislation; local, state and national, and the programs to assist the advancement of equality. Include non-governmental as well.

9. Research topics on the problems since 1964 in the large cities of the North. Include the local situation.

10. Show the class a current table dealing with integration in Southern schools. Ask: How many years has it taken to achieve this degree of integration in Southern schools since the famous Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation? If you were Southern Negroes would you be satisfied with this progress? Why or why not? Why do some people speak of "token" integration in many Southern cities?

Reader's Guide to locate current data

For figures prior to 1966, see, Sobel, ed., Civil Rights Leader, pp 412-413

Rose & Rose, eds., Minority Problems, pp 231-232

Franklin & Starr, eds., The Negro in 20th Century America, selections 8a-8d

11. Now have the class look at data on de facto segregation in Northern communities. Ask: How can you explain this data? Have students compare current data with data on de facto segregation in the early 1960's. Ask: How much has the situation changed? What demands have many Negroes made because of this de facto segregation?

Reader's Guide to locate information. Use local statistics of schools.

Franklin & Starr, eds., The Negro in 20th Century America, selections 9-10

12. Have pupils investigate, if possible, current expenditures per pupil in schools which are in inner city areas of a high Negro population as compared to those in the better residential areas.

Consult State Department of Education research division or local school district business office.

Ferman, et.al, eds., Negroes and Jobs, pp 121, 227-228

GENERALIZATIONS

ACTIVITIES

13. Have pupils study (through articles, books, or films) some of the riots which have taken place since they last studied minority group problems in this country. For example, in the next few years, they should study such riots as those at Watts in 1966, in Detroit in 1967, and in Chicago and Washington and Baltimore in 1968 (immediately after the assassination of Martin Luther King.)

RESOURCES

For a disturbing article on threats of violence, see; Sackett, "Plotting a War on 'Whitey'", Life, June 10, 1966, pp 150ff

For riots see such books as; Cohen and Murphy, Burn, Baby, Burn! (on Watts)

The Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, (on 1967 riots)

Friedman, ed., The Civil Rights Movement, pp 214-221 (on Watts)

Brink & Harris, Black and White, pp 260-261, 264-267

14. Show the class tables on the 1966 survey of Negro attitudes toward the possibility of achieving equal rights without violence, toward the effects of the riots, toward participation in riots and toward the probability of further riots.

Discuss: What does this data seem to indicate about the reactions of a majority of Negroes toward the need for violence? What change was there in their reactions toward the need for violence from 1963 to 1966? What does the data seem to indicate about the reactions of the majority of the Negroes toward the riots of 1966? Toward personal participation in the riots? Toward the probability of more riots in the future? Do there seem to be any differences in responses by region? By class?

GENERALIZATIONS

ACTIVITIES

RESOURCES

15. Have pupils spend some time studying reaction in both the Negro and the White community as a result of the assassination of a number of civil rights workers, and Dr. Martin Luther King. Students might read accounts of the lives of these people before analyzing reactions of both Blacks and Whites to their assassination.
16. Use the consideration of the increased rioting and disorder following the passage of civil rights legislation to lead into the importance for studying the amount of discrimination in more detail, including the amount of discrimination which has continued since the passage of the civil rights legislation. Read aloud quotations by leaders of both the Black and White community after the passage of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965 to illustrate the promise held out.

Then suggest the need for finding out more about the degree to which the promises have or have not been fulfilled.
17. Have pupils read various statements by Negroes or articles which examine the development of negative self concepts among Negroes or other minority group members, the reasons for this development, and the effects of such self concepts. Then discuss: How would such self concepts affect progress in school? How would they affect attempts by Negroes to get ahead in jobs or even apply for jobs? How do you think such self concepts might be changed?

Ferman, et.al., eds. Negroes and Jobs, pp 129-161

Kvaraceus, et.al., Negro Self-Concept

GENERALIZATIONS

ACTIVITIES

18. Have pupils examine articles by men in the Black Power movement which deal with the importance of developing different self concepts and pride in their race. Also examine studies done on attempts to improve Negro self concepts. Discuss: Why is pride important in any attempt to end discrimination?

19. Lead from the discussion of possible reactions of the White community into a discussion of what the majority might do to try to reduce prejudice and discrimination. Say: If the majority really wants to bring about greater equality, what kinds of action might it take individually and collectively? What kinds of action might be most likely to reduce prejudice, to reduce economic discrimination, etc.? Have pupils make proposals for courses of action which might be taken. They should also set up hypotheses about possible consequences of each suggested course of action. And they should list the value conflicts involved in each. The class might also hypothesize about ways of preventing and controlling riots until greater equality can be achieved.

What would you predict would be the result? Do you think the results would be the same in all kinds of contact situations? Why or why not? What kinds of contact situations do you think would be most likely to lead to a reduction of prejudice? Have pupils set up hypotheses and then deduce if/then statements which might be used to guide the collection of data to test these and the hypotheses they established earlier.

RESOURCES

Friedman, ed., Civil Rights Reader, pp 139-147

Carmichael & Hamilton, Black Power, Chap 2

Kvaraceus, et.al., Negro Self-Concept

e.g. See: Simpson & Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities, Chap 22-23

Allport, Nature of Prejudice, Chap 16

Saenger, Social Psychology of Prejudice, Chap 14

Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, Part III

Killian and Grigg, Racial Crisis in America

Rose & Rose, eds., Minority Problems, Part VI

Ferman, et.al., eds., Negroes and Jobs, Chap 6

Raab & Selznick, Major Social Problems, Chap 6

19. (continued)

Now have the class use a variety of sources of information to try to investigate the possibilities of each course of action which they have proposed. You might also direct their attention to other courses which have been proposed. Pupils should collect any data available about how similar courses of action have worked in any section of this country or in any experiment. Again, the class can divide up into groups for this work, or you may wish to have all of the class investigate some of the proposals and have individuals or small groups investigate others.

The class as a whole should consider the alternative courses of action after they have studied the probable consequences of each. They may wish to reject one or more because of evidence which they have found about how similar courses of action have operated in the past or because of experiments which have been conducted. The class should discuss the probable consequences of the different courses of action in some detail.

20. The class should be sure to consider any current proposals for a general community attack upon problems of prejudice and discrimination. They should investigate the proposals and what has been or is being done. (They may use newspaper articles, interviews, outside speakers, etc.) Then they should analyze the pros and cons of the proposals in class.

21. Class members may well differ as to whether or not they think any action should be taken in the local community. However, pupils who think that something might be done, can be encouraged to take action to try to help carry out any course which they believe would be appropriate. Even if class members do not agree to any particular course of action or if no students wish to engage in other kinds of action, the teacher may wish to at least encourage some kind of action to open lines of communication between these young people and people of other groups. This can be done in part as a means of investigating further the points of view of other groups. However, it may also have some effects upon pupils' attitudes particularly if the teacher pays some attention to the research which has been done on the types of contact most likely to promote a reduction of prejudice.

22. Culminating activity: Easy questions could be used for a take home test or to be answered a couple of days in class, using notes and materials they have gathered during the unit.

Suggested questions:

1. Give history and nature of the Negro minority problem in the U.S. today.
2. Discuss, analyze and compare the various solutions that have emerged.
3. State, discuss and support what you think should be done to effect a solution involving both the individual and society.

DUPLICATED RESOURCES

FOR

UNIT I

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WHAT WOULD YOU DO TEST

The following test presents you with a number of situations in school and adult life. In each one, you are to imagine that you are actually in the situation and decide what you would do. There are five possible actions suggested that you may check. If one of them satisfies you as an answer draw a circle around its number. It may be that no one of the five answers will seem to be satisfactory. In such a case write out a one or two sentence description of how you would act. Remember in this test there are no right and no wrong answers. We do not know what is the best answer. All we are interested in seeing is what you actually feel about the situation. So be completely honest. You can be assured that the answers you give will not be used against you in any way, and that when the results are tabulated, you will be a mere number in the experiment. You will have as much time as you need for the test, but work as rapidly as you can.

1. You are a member of a club in your town that takes in two members from each of the professions and businesses in the town. The members all meet together for lunch and fellowship about twice a month. Inside the town there is a small Negro college. As it is the only college in the town, there are no other professors in the group. Two of the Negroes from the staff of the college apply for membership in your group.

1. I wouldn't even bother to be present when the group was voting on whether or not to admit them as members.
2. I would resign from the club if the Negroes were admitted.
3. I would vote to have the Negroes admitted, but I wouldn't want anybody else to know how I voted.
4. I would vote against admitting the Negroes, and I would simply ignore them if they were admitted.
5. I would resign from the club if the Negroes were not admitted simply on the basis of their color.
- 6.

2. The football team is having a dance after the season is over. There are two Negroes on the team. It is customary each year for each couple present to change dances with every other couple present.

1. I would suggest that the custom of changing dances be omitted this year.
2. I would feel strange dancing with a Negro, but I would feel that I should have to do it.
3. I wouldn't care whether the custom was kept or not.
4. I would absolutely refuse to change dances with a Negro couple.

5. I wouldn't go to the dance if the rest of the team decided to do away with the custom just because there were Negroes on the team.

6.

3. A Negro peanut vendor on Main Street comes to the city police and complains that a group of children are stealing fruit from his stand. They gang up and rush the stand, spilling the fruit all over the street.

1. I wouldn't particularly be interested in the complaint.
2. I would promise to mention the complaint to the cop on the beat.
3. I would be amused by the incident and do nothing about it.
4. I would feel that the Negro should have known better than to try to sell on Main Street and that it was his own fault if he was having trouble.
5. I would see that he got special protection until the gang could be caught and made to pay for their damage.

6.

4. The editor-in-chief of the college newspaper has always been a person who had the greatest number of inches of material printed in the school paper the previous year. One year, a Negro boy was discovered to be the person with the greatest number of articles to his credit.

1. I would want the staff to vote to see whether or not he was to be made editor. I would probably vote no.
2. I would resign from the staff if a Negro became editor.
3. I would suggest that the Negro be made a co-editor with a white boy.
4. I would insist that the Negro should be made editor without even voting on it, for he had earned the position in the same way that all other editors earned their positions.
5. I wouldn't care what decision was made.

6.

5. Shortly after the election, one of the supreme court justices in the state dies. The governor in the state is to appoint a successor to fill out the term. A group of Negroes get together and ask the governor to appoint a Negro since they have never been represented on the bench.

1. I would feel that the Negroes had a good point, but I would keep my opinion to myself.

2. I would publicly support the Negroes' request.
3. I would be against appointing a person just because he was a Negro, but I wouldn't express my opinions.
4. I would publicly support the person that I thought was best qualified for the position.
5. I wouldn't be interested in what was done.
- 6.

6. It is customary in your college for students taking office practice in the commercial department to work as clerks and pages in the main office of the college. One Negro girl taking the course, however, is refused the right to have this practice because it is said that outsiders might not understand having a colored girl behind the main desk.

1. I would refuse to work in the office myself if the Negro girl was allowed to work there at the same time.
2. I would feel that Negroes will have to learn that there are many things they cannot do and they might as well start in school.
3. I would assume that the teacher had sound reasons, and I would not bother myself about the situation further.
4. I would feel that this was unfair, but I wouldn't know what to do about it.
5. I would write a letter to the editor demanding that the girl be given the right to work the same as the other students.
- 6.

7. The Y.W.C.A. is opening an evening bridge class for twenty or thirty couples who want to improve their game. You discover at the first meeting of the class that there are two Negro couples in the group.

1. I would be indifferent to their presence.
2. I would quit the class if the Negroes were allowed to continue.
3. I would think this was a wonderful opportunity, and I would go out of my way to become acquainted with the Negro couples.
4. I would insist that the Negro couples play by themselves and not change tables with the white couples present.
5. I would be as willing to play with the Negroes as with anyone else present.
- 6.

8. Your city is voting for a director of athletics for the municipal athletic program. Of the people who are running, the one who has the best qualifications is a Negro. He is the only one who has won letters in three different sports at the State University. He has also had some experience working with an athletic program.

1. I wouldn't be interested enough to bother voting at all.
2. I would not vote for a Negro for such an important position.
3. I would vote for a white man and later suggest that the Negro be made one of his advisers.
4. I would be willing to endorse the Negro publicly if I were asked.
5. I would vote for the Negro as director, but I would not tell anyone how I voted.
- 6.

9. You are on the schoolboard of your town. There has always been one Negro teacher hired for one of the colored schools in town. In the past it has been a woman with only two years of college work, and she had been paid a little less than the white teachers with four years of college work. Now a new colored teacher is to be hired who has four years of college work. The board is voting on a motion to give her the same salary as the other colored teacher.

1. I wouldn't care what the outcome of the vote was.
2. I would feel the teacher was lucky to get a job at all so I would vote in favor of giving her a lower salary.
3. I would vote to give the teacher the same salary as the white teachers with similar training, but I would say nothing to influence other members of the board.
4. I would resign from the Board if the teacher was not given the same salary as the white teachers. I would publish my reasons for resigning in the town paper.
5. I would wholeheartedly support the motion to pay the teacher less since the Board would be saved money. I would argue with the other members to get them to see the sense of my position.
- 6.

10. In your college lunch room, the Negro students have always sat together at two or three tables at the far end of the room. There is no rule about it, but in your three years in the school, you have never seen a Negro student sit anywhere else. One day just before lunch, you and a Negro boy are working on a math problem. The bell rings and you walk to the lunch room together, still talking about the problem. You would like to go on talking about it while you eat because you have math the following hour and you feel he would help you.

1. I would suggest that we eat together in the lunch room and continue our discussion.
2. I would suggest that we eat together in one of the vacant classrooms so that we could talk.
3. I would not think about the situation one way or the other.
4. I would suggest that we both eat as fast as we can and that after lunch we meet again in one of the classrooms.
5. I would assume that it would be impossible to sit together, so I would just drop the matter right there.
- 6.

11. The business manager of the school play is responsible for the handling of ordering all materials that are needed, selling tickets, keeping records, etc. Since the job involves such tremendous responsibility it is given to a reliable student, and he is usually paid a small amount for the job. The boy that the commercial department recommended for the job is a very quiet Negro boy. He needs the money that he would receive for the work.

1. I would try to prevent the appointment of the Negro boy.
2. I wouldn't care whether he was appointed or not.
3. If the Negro boy is the best qualified for the position, I would fight to have him appointed.
4. I would suggest that the Negro boy be given a co-managership along with a white boy.
5. I would suggest that a white student be appointed manager and the Negro boy be made one of his assistants.
- 6.

12. In the newspaper office of the college there are a number of desks that are shared by the editors of the paper. There is one desk to every two editors. One of the editors selected by the adviser is a Negro boy. He is supposed to share your desk with you. After six weeks have gone by, you notice that he has never once used the desk or the drawer space in it. You discover that he has felt that you might object to his being there.

1. I would try to find another desk if the Negro moved into mine.
2. I would think the Negro dumb not to demand his rights, and I would let the situation go on as it is.
3. I wouldn't give the matter a thought one way or the other.

4. I might casually mention that he didn't seem to be making much use of the desk.
5. I would go out of my way to invite the Negro to share the desk and to make him feel comfortable about using it.
- 6.

13. A Negro family buys a house across the street from you. The first night that they move into the house, a gang of neighbors, mostly high school children, throw garbage in the front yard and on the porch. They break the porch light and several of the windows.

1. I would feel like joining the gang since Negroes should know enough not to try to move into a good neighborhood.
2. I wouldn't be concerned about the disturbance at all.
3. I would call the police and offer my help in breaking up the gang. I would be willing to identify members of the gang if I were asked.
4. I would offer to help the Negroes find another house in the Negro district if they would move out.
5. I would be disgusted with the action of the gang, but I would stay completely away from the trouble.
- 6.

14. The senior class is electing a chairman for its commencement committee. The person in the class who has the most originality and the most organizational ability is a Negro girl.

1. I would nominate the Negro girl as chairman of the committee.
2. I would think it the height of stupidity to nominate a Negro girl for the position.
3. I would vote for the Negro girl if someone else nominated her.
4. I wouldn't care whether she was nominated or not.
5. I would not vote for the Negro girl even if she were nominated.
- 6.

15. When the school first opened, there were no colored students in it. Since that time, quite a group have come to it. When they first came, they avoided the lunch-room and always ate at a restaurant across the street. So the whole school has come to think that the Negro children should not use the school restaurant. Now, however,

prices are cheaper in the school restaurant than they are across the street. Some of the Negro children have requested permission to eat at school.

1. I would stay away from the restaurant if the Negro children were admitted.
2. I wouldn't care whether they were admitted or not.
3. I would make a motion in the senate to permit the Negroes to use the school lunchroom.
4. I would feel that the Negroes are getting just treatment being kept out because they have acted so stand-offish in the past.
5. I would admit the Negroes if they would agree to eat at the same table and not mix with the white.
- 6.

16. There is to be a school parade in which various organizations are having floats. One of the Negro boys' clubs in the school is building a float along with the others out in the back of the school. Along about five o'clock, after most of the other workers have gone home, a group of small boys comes along and starts to tear the Negro's float to pieces.

1. I would think it was a big joke that the boys were tearing up the Negro's float.
2. I would not know what to do in the situation. I would wish that I had not seen the incident at all.
3. If I could not stop the boys myself, I would call the police.
4. I would tell the boys to beat it and then I would go on with my own work.
5. I would not stop the boys unless they started in on one of the other floats.
- 6.

17. You are a member of a fraternity or sorority in your school. Accidentally you rush a very popular student. Everyone in the club thinks that he is a wonderful person. You vote to take him into the group. Then one of your alumni calls and tells you that he comes from a Negro family even though he looks white.

1. I would resign from the club if the invitation was sent to the person asking him to join.
2. I would want to resign from the club if the student were not sent an invitation since the club has already voted.

3. I wouldn't care whether he was taken in or not.
4. I would ask that the club revote now that they know the person is colored. I would vote no.
5. I would vote to take the person into the club even though he is colored.
- 6.

SENSITIVITY
SURVEY

Sponsored by
Minneapolis Urban Coalition
and
Minnesota Council on
Religion and Race

Name of Congregation

Denomination or Faith

INSTRUCTIONS:

The Minneapolis Urban Coalition, Community Education taskforce, in cooperation with the Minnesota Council on Religion and Race, is sponsoring this Sensitivity Survey. Our purpose is to identify the attitudes and beliefs of church members in our community toward race relations and inter-group understanding.

You are asked to complete the following anonymous questionnaire. After completing the background information, please read each of the statements and check response in the column on the right.

Thank you for your cooperation.

YOUR AGE Under 21 _____ 36-50 _____
 22-35 _____ Over 50 _____

SEX Male _____
 Female _____
 Race _____

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

Check Highest Level Attained

Grade School _____
Some High School _____
High School Diploma _____
Vocational Certificate _____
Some Undergraduate College _____
College Diploma _____
Graduate Work _____

ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME

Under \$5,000 per annum _____
\$5,000-7,500 per annum _____
7,500-10,000 per annum _____
10,000-15,000 per annum _____
15,000-20,000 per annum _____
Over 20,000 per annum _____

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. Black people should be allowed some preference in employment, training, and promotion to help make up for the previous conditions of discrimination they have had to endure in the job area.	—	—	—	—
2. Somehow it is easier for me to talk with a light-skinned Negro.	—	—	—	—
3. In general white people are more beautiful than black people.	—	—	—	—
4. The riots are aimed at individual white people.	—	—	—	—
5. Skin color, nationality, and other differences should have nothing to do with love and marital happiness.	—	—	—	—
6. I think my Church should participate in programs to attract minority families to our community.	—	—	—	—
7. I feel somewhat angry or hostile when I see black people occupying good paying jobs which should have gone to white people.	—	—	—	—
8. I wish the papers and magazines gave more space to reporting the basic concerns of the black community.	—	—	—	—
9. Interracial marriage is a personal thing and should not be opposed or advocated by any group.	—	—	—	—
10. The riots would not take place if there were not some kind of organized conspiracy behind them.	—	—	—	—
11. I feel somewhat more superior in the presence of black people than in the presence of white people.	—	—	—	—
12. Interracial couples have some special problems to face, but as a result, their marriage might be stronger.	—	—	—	—
13. I frequently worry about my property and life this coming summer.	—	—	—	—

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
14. I believe that discrimination in employment will best be solved by special training programs for black people.	—	—	—	—
15. I am uncomfortable when I hear people accuse white leadership of failing to respond to the black community.	—	—	—	—
16. I do not mind working in the same office, factory, or crew with black people.	—	—	—	—
17. Given the conditions of today, I think it is sometimes justified to have a gun to protect your property.	—	—	—	—
18. I would find another job if I found that the firm I worked for discriminated in hiring and promotion.	—	—	—	—
19. Black people should realize that white people want to do what is in their best interest, but white people simply cannot do everything at once.	—	—	—	—
20. I believe that public housing should be dispersed through the whole community.	—	—	—	—
21. The Church should work to dispell fears associated with black and white people marrying each other.	—	—	—	—
22. I would move into a neighborhood where minority group individuals reside in large numbers.	—	—	—	—
23. While riots in themselves are destructive, I can really understand why black people despair.	—	—	—	—
24. When I see black and white people together in social situations I fear that our society is in danger.	—	—	—	—
25. Black people are as interesting or intelligent as are other people.	—	—	—	—
26. I think one must be careful that inter-racial contacts among teenagers do not lead to romantic involvements.	—	—	—	—

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
27. The status of a neighborhood can be judged on the basis of the number of minority persons living there.	—	—	—	—
28. Black people are not in a position to fully understand the mechanics of getting changes made, and thus need the direction of well-meaning white people.	—	—	—	—
29. The greater the percent of minority group individuals in the neighborhood, the less desirable becomes the location of an area in which to purchase property.	—	—	—	—
30. Interracial marriage might be all right if only two persons were involved, but it is a tragedy for the children.	—	—	—	—
31. It is as wrong to permit people to starve to death as it is to burn property.	—	—	—	—
32. You have to be exceptionally careful when hiring black people for responsible positions.	—	—	—	—
33. Black people have a strange odor.	—	—	—	—
34. Black people are as capable workers as are other people in all but the most difficult tasks or jobs.	—	—	—	—
35. One should always strive to move to areas free from problems of low employment, poor schools, and recreation facilities.	—	—	—	—
36. I would be rather upset if a realtor brought a minority family to look at a house in my block.	—	—	—	—
37. Somehow I can't quite fathom a really black fashion model.	—	—	—	—
38. Leadership in the cause of black freedom must rest in the hands of black men, as they are in a position to determine what is right at any particular time.	—	—	—	—

- | | Strongly Agree | Agree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|--|----------------|-------|----------|-------------------|
| 39. The black community should be able to decide what kind of help is needed from white people, and when and how it should be given. | — | — | — | — |
| 40. Black people should be kept out of those jobs where their skin color, hair styling or speech patterns might be offensive to the taste of white people. | — | — | — | — |

STEREOTYPES AND CLICHÉS

I. Stereotypes

In describing a situation, presenting an analysis of a problem, characterizing an individual or group of individuals, the major responsibility of an individual is to do so as accurately, factually and objectively as possible. To do otherwise would be to distort the truth. Yet when an individual allows his biases and prejudices to influence an analysis of a problem, he does so at the expense of the truth. For this reason it is important that an individual recognize the use and role of stereotypes.

Stereotypes are words or phrases which have an emotional meaning.

In the use and response to such words the individual creates a "mental picture" based not on facts or objective reality but on emotions, bias and prejudices. The use of emotionally taxed words are always harmful when we are trying to think clearly on a disputable point of fact or on a problem.

The following words are often used as stereotypes:

racism	"a Harvard man"
"dumb Swede"	"a West Pointer"
"absent-minded professor"	"a plutocrat"
Jew	internationalism
Bolshevik	Americanism
collectivism	fascism
capitalist	freedom
foreigner	liberty

II. Cliche'

A cliché is an outworn commonplace; a trite, meaningless statement; a phrase or short sentence that has become so over used that it loses all meaning. The cliché is an uneconomical use of words and nearly always unnecessary. The excessive use, not the phrasal quality, determines a cliché.

Examples of clichés:

The long and short of it is that we lack funds.
He is as cool as a cucumber when he argues.
Your argument is as old as the hills.
You must know the ropes of this business to get a promotion.

Other phrases which are clichés:

add insult to injury	all to the good
as a matter of fact	here today, gone tomorrow
last but not least	salt of the earth
to explore every avenue	life and blood of industry
the power of the press	the acid test
an affront to national honor	all things to every man
every school boy knows	on this auspicious occasion
to have an ax to grind	a glorious victory
law-abiding citizen	lead a dog's life
to mind one's P's and Q's	it's not for me to say

Practice in order -

- to identify the central issue
- to recognize underlying assumptions
- to recognize stereotypes and cliché's
- to recognize bias and emotional factors in a presentation

"What we have been smelling in this country is the stink of Socialist corruption. Socialism means seizing one man's income to give to another. It means government discrimination among classes. It means subsidies. These are fundamentally dishonest.

Communism is so brutally revolutionary that few Americans accept it. But Socialism goes slower and makes more compromises, and many Americans have fallen for it in one form or another.

Our Socialism is usually masked under such names as "social planning" or "social action." This means having the government run the country. Chief among the organizations that have stood for Socialism in America is Americans for Democratic Action, somewhat like the Fabian Society in England.

How do the candidates stand on this big issue of Socialism?

I think at least we can say that Eisenhower's heart is in the right place. He not only considers the costs and the bills the Socialists run up, but he also sincerely believes in individual freedom and private enterprise. Ike takes the American ideals of freedom seriously.

This suggests the other candidate, Governor Stevenson, is less fortunate in his background as to Socialism. It is no accident that we find that he didn't see anything wrong with Hiss.

The first time I saw any strong open advocacy of Stevenson for president was in an article in the radical publication known as the New Republic. Why did this Socialist sheet lead in coming out for Stevenson?

Stevenson has associated himself deliberately with the organization, Americans for Democratic Action. He has picked as his campaign manager a man who has been a leader in that organization, an organization that stands for the repeal of anti-Communist laws, abolition of the un-American Activities Committee, recognition of Red China, and the right of students to form Communist organizations."

Answer the following questions with reference to the above article:

1. What is the main issue?
2. What are the underlying assumptions?
3. List the stereotypes and cliché's used in the article.
4. List any examples you can find of emotional or biased statements in the selection.

The following statements have been clipped from the section of representative newspapers entitled "Letter to the Editor." Go through the list and if in your judgment the statement is based on emotion or prejudice indicate the same by placing the letter E (for emotion) opposite the number of the statement. On the other hand, if the statement seems to you to be based on fact and if it appears that its author was not emotionally biased, indicate the same by placing the letter T (for thought) opposite the number of the statement.

- ___ 1. Aliens are dangerous because they bring over radical ideas from Europe.
- ___ 2. Most of the people on relief are shiftless, lazy, and unwilling to work even if they have the chance.
- ___ 3. The Germans have been the chief trouble-makers in Europe all my life and I don't care what happens to them.
- ___ 4. If we did not have a single alien in the United States, we might still be in a serious economic difficulty.
- ___ 5. We cannot blame foreigners for the fact that we do not know how to adjust our economic machinery in such a way as to eliminate poverty and unemployment.
- ___ 6. Opportunities in the United States were far better when foreigners were coming here by the hundreds.
- ___ 7. The Germans are very skillful as workmen and soldiers.
- ___ 8. The German standard of living has always been lower than the American standard of living.
- ___ 9. America has always prided itself as being a land of opportunity and a haven for refugees.
- ___ 10. The Germans as individuals compare favorably with other people in honor and honesty.
- ___ 11. Aliens are generally inferior to Americans. They drag our standard down and thus should be kept out.
- ___ 12. We should not place any numerical limit on the migration of foreigners into this country, but we should admit only those who are average or above in intelligence and character.
- ___ 13. The Germans have a highly developed sense for good music.
- ___ 14. The United Nations is just like the League of Nations in that it simply draws the United States into all the trouble of the world.

Written response on recognizing stereotypes and cliché's

Underline all the cliché's and list the stereotypes in the following selection:

"It is a pleasure and a privilege to be here with you today. These great annual meetings are always an inspiration to me, and doubly so today. After that glowing introduction by our toastmaster I must confess, however, that I'd like to turn the tables and tell a little story on Chuck. When I say it's about the nineteenth hole and a certain gentleman whose baritone was cracked, those of you who were at the Atlanta conference last year will know what I mean. But I won't tell it. Chuck Forbes is too good a friend of mine and, seriously, I know full well we all realize what a tower of strength his yeoman service has been to the association in these trying times.

Yes, gentlemen, trying times. So you'll pardon me if I cast aside the glib reverberation of glittering generalities and the soothing syrup of sugar-coated platitudes and put it to you the only way I can; straight English.

We're losing the battle!

From every corner the people are being weaned from the doctrines of the Founding Fathers. They are being detoured from the high-speed highways of progress by the utopian highwaymen.

Now the man in the street is a pretty savvy fellow. Don't sell him short. Joe Doakes may be fooled for a while, but in the end he wants no part of the mumbo jumbo the global saboteurs are trying to sell him. After all, he is an American.

But he has to be told. And we're not telling him!

Now let me say that I do not wish to turn back the clock. None of us do. All forward-looking businessmen see themselves as partners in a team in which the worker is a full-fledged member. I regard our employees as our greatest business asset, and I am sure, mindful as I am of the towering potentials of purposeful energy in this group of clear-sighted leaders, that in the final analysis, it is the rock foundation of your policies too.

But the team can't pull the ball across for a first down just by wishing it. The guards and the tackles can't do their job if the quarterback doesn't let them in on the play. And we, the quarterbacks, are muffing the ball.

How are we to go over for a touchdown? My friends, this is the \$64 question. I don't know the answers. I am just a plain-spoken businessman. I am not a soothsayer. I have not a secret crystal ball. But I do know one thing; before we round the curve into the homestretch we have a job to do. It will not be easy. I offer no panaceas or nostrums. Instead, I would like to suggest that the real key to our problem lies in the application of the three E's. ENTERPRISE, ENDEAVOR, EFFORT.

Each and every one of us must appoint himself a salesman -- yes, a missionary, if you will -- and get out and do some real grassroots selling. And when we hit the dirt, let's not forget the customers -- the greatest asset any business has."

Written Response

The average American is a gullible sort of Joe. He usually takes things for granted; for example, he believes that roads are paid for on an equitable basis. Little does he realize the fact that considering the weight of his vehicle, he is paying approximately three times as much for the use of the roads as the proprietors of the biggest trucks and buses.

We must also realize that compared to the truck companies, Joe Doakes, Mr. Average American, is already being squeezed to death by high taxes. Today 32¢ out of every dollar earned by the conscientious worker in America is taken by taxes.

Who pays for our roads? In fees and taxes, the owner of a Ford sedan is assessed an average of 34¢ to move the one ton of his car's weight 100 miles over the open road. The operator of a 30-ton truck-and-trailer pays only 12¢ for the same ton-mile accommodations. And, to underline the unfairness of this, it is weight that is responsible for most of the cost of our roads.

Concerning highway maintenance costs, James H. Duff, when Governor of Pennsylvania, stated that truckers were causing a ratio of deterioration on our highways of 16 to 1 comparison with private drivers. A New York State study estimated that sufficient funds to improve 26,000 miles of roads for passenger cars would prepare only 737 miles for heavy trucks.

According to the Bureau of Public Roads, we are now 74,000 miles behind in replacing obsolete and hazardous primary roads, and the breakage is mounting steadily as trucks pile up more than 20% of all highway mileage.

The fact of the matter is that the country's traditional method of financing highways is no longer equitable or adequate. Consumption of motor fuel rarely rises in direct ratio to an increase in tonnage. A truck-and-trailer grossing 70,000 pounds burns considerably less gasoline than two 35,000 pound trucks.

The average motorist has been paying the bulk of the funds needed for building roads far more sturdy than his car requires and for repairing roads which his car has not damaged. In a typical state private car owners contribute 68% of the total revenue received from users of the roads. Many states now have a gasoline tax of seven to nine cents a gallon.

Is there no valid way that trucks can be made to pay for the expensive road and bridge construction they demand? Oregon has an answer; the weight-distance tax, collected from commercial vehicles. The graduated fees are geared to the weight of the truck and the distance it travels. A 6,000 pound pickup truck pays one-fourth of a cent per mile, a 30,000 pound Greyhound bus 1.45¢ and a 68,000 pound truck-and-trailer four cents. The price changes with each 2,000 pounds of added weight and rises sharply in the upper tonnage limits, which places the heaviest costs on the heaviest offenders.

It is common knowledge that our road system is vital to our national defense. Every day our freedom and security is threatened when we allow the trucking companies to destroy our modern highways without making them pay a fair share of the cost of maintenance.

This type of taxation -- the weight-distance tax -- should concern every last one of us. It's high time we stand on our own two feet and demand an equitable tax for the maintenance of our roads. Wouldn't it be better to enact the weight-distance tax in every state?

Using the above selection answer the following questions. Be as complete as possible.

1. What is the main point of this selection?
2. What are the assumptions which the author makes in this selection?
3. List the stereotypes and cliches used in the article.
4. Does the author present unverifiable material as though they were facts? List the examples of this which you found in the article.
5. Which facts and arguments are not relevant to the main issue in this selection?

"When the stork picked you up, slung you comfortably from his bill and began winging his way earthward with you, the chances were fifteen to one against you. But you were lucky. You hit the jackpot. You live in the United States of America!

This means that you live better than the people of any other nation on earth. Nowhere else in the world could you acquire so many of life's material riches in return for so small an expenditure of effort. In no other country will an hour's labor buy so many of the necessities, comforts and luxuries of life. Never in history has any people known a standard of living as high as that which Americans enjoy today.

America harbors only one-sixteenth of the earth's population but she produces nearly seven-sixteenths of the world's goods. Her people own 46% of the world's electric power, 50% of its radios, 60% of its telephones, 77% of its automobiles and 92% of its modern bathtubs. Yes, it is statistically true that in the 170 years of her dynamic, adventurous life, America has made more progress than all the other nations have made in 6,000 years.

What has she got that the rest of the world has not? She has only 6% of the world's area. Other nations have more land and more people. Some are more richly endowed with natural resources. Several enjoy a general level of health, education, political freedom and native ingenuity approximately comparable to our own. Carry this comparison on down the line, and you will be forced to the conclusion that the one thing which America has that the other nations lack is the American system of free enterprise. That you live in America is circumstance; but that America lives as she does is not. For a century and a half Americans have planned it that way."

1. What is the central issue of the article?
2. What are the underlying assumptions or the point of view of the author?
3. Were the author's arguments biased? List examples of such bias.
4. List the stereotypes and cliches used.
5. How sound were the arguments, that is;
 - a) Were they relevant?
 - b) Were they factually based?
 - c) Were they subject to verification?
6. Do you believe sufficient facts have been presented to draw a conclusion? If not, what other facts are needed?

INTERMARRIAGE - AND THE RACE PROBLEM

As Leading Authorities See It

The New York Times recently reported:

"Marriages between Negroes and Whites have been increasing in New York and have become a poignant part of the life of the city."

How widespread is racial intermarriage? Although banned by law in 19 states, is it increasing in other parts of the nation?

What effect is intermarriage likely to have on the nation's race problem? On the nation itself, and on its people?

Is the U.S. population on the way to becoming a blend of races?

Such questions are being raised with increasing frequency as the Negro drive for equality spreads across the country.

For answers, members of the staff of "U.S. News and World Report" interviewed some of the world's leading authorities on race and race problems. Following, in their own words, are their views on a controversial subject.

"YOU CAN'T CHANGE SOCIAL SITUATIONS BY LAWS"

Interview with Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, Swedish social economist, now professor of international economics at University of Stockholm

Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish economist of international reputation, was chosen by the Carnegie Foundation in 1937 to direct a study of the American Negro. A result was publication in 1944 of his book, An American Dilemma; The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy. This book was cited by the U.S. Supreme Court in its 1954 ruling that segregated schools deprived Negroes of equal opportunity. Dr. Myrdal has been Sweden's Minister of Commerce. Now 64 and a professor at the University of Stockholm, he has continued close study of the U.S. and has just written a book, Challenge to Affluence, dealing with the U.S. economy.

Q. Dr. Myrdal, in 1944 you wrote a book about the Negro problem calling it An American Dilemma. Do you now foresee a solution to that problem?

A. Solution? Well, you can find solutions to technical problems. But in social problems - particularly those which are so intrinsically difficult and mixed up as the Negro problem - there is no solution, in an absolute sense.

You don't change the over-all situation by law. In a sociological problem what we mean by a solution is something creating conditions for development in the right direction, toward an improvement. But there is no real solution, like solving a mathematical equation.

Q. *Do you mean you can't change the situation by laws?*

A. I wouldn't want to say that exactly. You change the situation by laws to an extent, but not wholly.

Put it this way: The whole protest movement in which the Negroes are engaging now is directed primarily at civil rights in what we might call the broader sense, including the right to be employed, to have equal employment opportunities.

All right, let's say this is achieved by law - that the Negro has the same right to a job as a white man and is not discriminated against when he applies for the job.

But you would still have Negroes living grouped together, segregated, and they would remain a substantial part of the American people who have less schooling and not-so-good schooling and live in slums. And his rate of unemployment would be higher, on the average, than the white man's.

But I wouldn't say that the law isn't changing things. It very definitely is changing things. But you can't change a whole social situation and a whole nation merely by laws.

There are many other things which have to be done at the same time. And I think the really encouraging thing about the situation is the position which the press and other enlightened leadership have taken in America at this time - in both North and South, incidentally. They have understood that changing the law is not enough.

Q. *What more is needed?*

A. If the Negro wants better housing, then you must improve housing generally. If you want to improve Negro Education, you must improve your school situation for poor people all over America. And this means more doctors, more lawyers, more teachers, more schools, better schools. And all this costs an awful lot of money. You see what I mean?

Q. *The Negro seems to be asking for what he calls "complete integration." Is this the answer to his problem?*

A. Integration is a very loose word. Sure, the Negro is asking that his color shall not be used for discriminating against him under any circumstances. He wants to be an ordinary American. As a matter of fact, he is. There is nothing strange about the Negro. He is not different from other people, except that for a long, long period, since he came to the country as a slave, he has been living under very extraordinary conditions. And he wants to be equal to other people.

Q. *Does this mean social equality, too - including inter-marriage with whites?*

A. No educated or intelligent Negro could ever agree that, because of his race, it should not be possible for him to marry as he pleases. He is against that.

I don't think, however, that - as a practical thing - intermarriage is very much on his mind. It is more on the white man's mind than on the Negro's.

Q. *Do you mean the Negro wants to be free to marry a white person if he chooses, but that he is not very much interested in exercising that freedom?*

A. Well, surely, as an American citizen, he doesn't want laws that say it is a crime for him to marry a white girl. That's an open rebuff to his dignity.

But, as I pointed out in my book, there is a difference in what I call the "rank order" - order of importance - in the things that the Negro wants and the things that the whites want, or don't want, as far as the Negro is concerned.

This is a hopeful thing, I think. It means that the things the Negroes most want are the things that the whites are most prepared to give him. What the Negro is most interested in is being able to make a living, to live in decent houses, to be treated equally in the courts - not to have justice automatically against him - to have equality in social-welfare policy. He wants not to be discriminated against in buses and in public facilities of various sorts and so on.

What the whites call "social equality" is much lower on the Negro's value scale. However, he does want social equality, too, and the right to marry freely.

But now take the white man. He is most against what the Negro wants least - intermarriage and miscegenation. Most white Americans now are getting prepared to give the Negro what he wants most, which are the things I mentioned before, such as being able to earn a living without being discriminated against and having equally good schools - and you can't have equality in school if you have separate schools; it doesn't work.

In this difference in "rank order" you have the possibility of progress as far as the Negro is concerned.

Q. *Should all laws against racial marriage and miscegenation be eliminated?*

A. I do believe that every Negro and every good American must be against these laws because they are obviously discriminating. But I don't believe that eliminating them solves any problem.

Incidentally, the big period of miscegenation was during slavery. This is why, say, 80 per cent of American Negroes have white blood in them. Slavery was the time of real miscegenation. There was also a lot of it in the period after slavery. But I think there has gradually been less and less of it, partly because the Negro knew he was being exploited. It was the Negro woman who was exploited by the white man. This has produced a very deep feeling about miscegenation in the Negro.

Of course, from a scientific point of view, there is no reason why people shouldn't marry as they please and get along with each other.

Q. *How does intermarriage affect the races involved?*

A. Well, race, race - we are all a mixture of many things. You have much Negro blood mixed in the peoples of Southern Europe. I don't have the source now, but I remember that there was a large Negro population in one of the big British port cities, and this Negro blood now has disappeared by absorption into the white population. We are all mixed in our racial character.

Q. *Do you mean that the Negroes in America - 10 per cent of the population - could be absorbed into the white race through intermarriage?*

A. Well you're putting a rather hypothetical question there, because something like that is not in the cards. I don't think anything like that is going to happen very soon, for various reasons. Even if it did happen maybe the whites might be a little darker, or even a little gayer, something like that. But I wouldn't put any importance on it. All big countries are a mixture of all sorts of races, anyhow, if you go back thousands of years to where we started from.

Q. *Why don't you think such a racial absorption is going to happen in the U.S.?*

A. Well, it won't as long as there is racial prejudice - and remember you'll have racial prejudice even if you take away the legal and institutional barriers, even if you create full formal equality which, by the way, I believe will come in 10 years, being rather optimistic myself.

Nevertheless, there will be feelings on the white side which, in most cases, will prevent intermarriage. And there is, also, not prejudice, but a certain pride on the Negro side. The intellectual, upper-middle-class Negro particularly feels, first of all, a shame about the long period of miscegenation when his Negro women were exploited by white men. Furthermore, the Negro also has a sort of racial pride.

I don't think normally the Negro is looking for a white girl. This is a kind of bug in the white man's brain - that the Negro is particularly anxious to marry his daughter. I've not seen very much of that.

Anyway, I don't think this business of intermarriage has much to do with the problem at all - not at all. I don't think it's practical. But of course America is full of racial prejudice in many other aspects. You have anti-Semitism. It's not only the Negroes who are segregated in housing, Jews and some other peoples also are.

Q. *Do you think that the fear of racial interbreeding accounts for a lot of the white resistance to integration?*

A. In principle, yes. But one has to be very careful here. To a large extent the fear of interbreeding is a kind of rationalization. It is a stereotype which developed in order to bring some sort of order and rationality into their attitudes. It is very convenient if you want to keep school kids segregated to say that we don't want to bring on miscegenation. To some extent this is just a pretense, this fear.

You see, this intermarriage business is used all the time by people who want to prevent advancement by the Negro. There is a lot of irrational feeling and irrational belief in this intermarriage fear, and probably many people genuinely have these fears, but it's a foggy and phony idea.

Q. *Is there any scientific or historical reason for believing that racial mixture is bad for a country?*

A. We have had a great deal of intermixture in every country, if you look back far enough.

I don't think there is any scientific foundation for believing that intermixture of the races is detrimental to the quality of a country's people. There is none if you talk about it in biological terms or in psychological terms.

"MOTIVE FOR INTERMARRIAGE OFTEN NEUROTIC"

Interview with Dr. Ernest van den Haag, professor of social philosophy,
New York University

Dr. Ernest van den Haag is a sociologist and a psychoanalyst as well as a professor of social philosophy at New York University. He has dealt with race relations in several publications, including his latest book, Passion and Social Constraint. Born in Holland in 1914, he studied in Italy and France, came to U.S. in 1940, completed his education in this country. He formerly taught at City College of New York, Brooklyn College and University of Minnesota.

Q. *Professor van den Haag, do you see any real solution for the race problem in this country?*

A. Well, I don't know what is meant by "solution." Some people have proposed racial intermarriage as the only ultimate solution - intermarriage to such an extent that there wouldn't be any real Negroes left.

Q. *Do you think intermarriage is a solution?*

A. I think it's an insulting proposal - insulting to the Negroes and to everyone else.

Q. *Why do you consider it insulting?*

A. Because it seems to imply that Negroes and whites, as long as they remain Negroes and whites, will necessarily hate each other and that the only way to avoid hating each other will be that they stop being Negroes and whites and all become gray or brown or something like that.

Q. Do you think this is likely to happen here - that Americans will some day blend into a common color?

A. No, I don't think there will be racial intermarriage on a scale large enough to produce such a result.

Q. Do you foresee any great increase in intermarriage?

A. There will be an increase, certainly, over the amount there is now. But I think it will remain stabilized on a fairly low level. I really doubt that it will be on a scale such that it can even come near causing the Negro race to disappear.

But even if Negroes should disappear as a distinct race, it still would not be a solution to the problem. Some people would still be lighter in color than others, and the same problems that arise now would continue to rise.

Let me point out that in places like India, numerous lawsuits occur in which the bridegroom complains that the bride had been powdered when presented to him so as to appear lighter in color than she actually was. So even in a population which is relatively homogenized in skin color, as in India, the light-colored skin is preferred to the darker-colored skin, and the same sort of difficulties arise that we encounter here.

Q. Do you mean that humans are so constructed that a difference in the color of their skin creates an antipathy?

A. Not necessarily antipathy. But the visual aspect of another person plays an important role, particularly in sexual selection but also in other relations. After all, skin is the most visible part of the body and I cannot believe that people will ever disregard it.

Now, I don't wish to indicate that people will necessarily be hostile to people of a different skin color. What I do wish to make plain is that people will consider skin color as part of their aesthetic and psychological evaluation of another person. Since skin colors will remain different - regardless of intermarriage - this problem will remain with us.

Q. Has there already been a considerable mixing of the white and black races in this country?

A. Yes, but you see "interbreeding" and "intermarriage" are very different things. The normal disposition in most people is to prefer people who look like themselves - people of the same kind. There are deviations from that, but this would be the normal disposition. I think, on the whole, people are likely to prefer to marry in their own race.

Q. Is there a basic difference - a difference in cultural heritage, you might call it - that sets the black and white races apart and which is hard to overcome, even when they live in the same environment?

- A. There are basic differences in culture, but whether these differences are due to race is an open question. The fashionable reply 50 years ago would have been to say that the differences in culture are absolutely linked to genetic differences of race.

The fashionable reply today is to say that the differences in culture are absolutely not related to race.

I regard both these replies as merely fashions. As for the evidence, it is simply not conclusive, either way.

There is no explanation satisfactory to my mind as to why, for instance, Negroes in Africa never invented a written language or built a major political empire, as almost every other race has done. There may be a racial connection but we don't know the nature of the connection, if any.

- Q. *What about the effect on individuals of extensive interbreeding?*

- A. The effect on individuals is individual, so I cannot generalize on that. From the physical standpoint, some anthropologists feel that some difficulties can result, but the evidence is not strong enough to indicate that we have much to fear from that.

Psychologically, the difficulties that result tend to be much more social in origin than genetic.

- Q. *Do children of mixed marriages face special difficulties?*

- A. Such children often do not have a sense of belonging to either side. Under present circumstances, a mixed marriage does give its children a special handicap. Now, in a completely mixed society, it would be different. But we don't have a mixed society, and that's that.

- Q. *How about the problems faced by the husband and wife in a mixed marriage? Is there any evidence to indicate how such marriages usually work out?*

- A. I practice as a psychoanalyst, and I have treated some cases of people involved in mixed marriages. I haven't encountered many such marriages which seemed very happy.

In the cases that have come to my attention, the motive for intermarriage was often neurotic. Usually the white person would marry a Negro as a way of defying authority. The person that I would consider psychologically healthy is not very likely to intermarry under present circumstances.

Here I don't wish to be misunderstood. I don't mean to say that everybody who marries a person of a different color is neurotic. What I'm saying is that under present circumstances, in our society, the probability of a neurotic motive is exceedingly high.

But if the motive for marrying a person of another race is healthy - a genuine personal feeling for that person - I don't see any good reason why the marriage shouldn't work out, though it might face social difficulties. There is usually bitter opposition to such a marriage on the part of the parents.

Q. Do you expect that, as integration increases and the number of mixed marriages grows, there will be increasing social acceptance of mixed marriage? Or will there be a rising resistance?

A. I think probably there will be some of both results. In some circles, there will be greater acceptance, while some other circles will be reinforced in their rejection. The likelihood is that there will be deeper splits, if anything, in attitudes.

HOW MANY INTERRACIAL MARRIAGES?

There are no official statistics to show the number of Negroes married to whites in the U.S.

Estimates vary widely. A 1956 survey indicated that in States where mixed marriages are legal, fewer than 1 in 20 married Negroes have non-Negro spouses and fewer than 1 in 200 of all marriages are between white and Negro. Andrew D. Weinberger, a New York lawyer who has made studies of miscegenation laws, estimated recently there are almost 1 million interracial married couples in the U.S. But he says some 810,000 of these are not known as mixed marriages because they involve persons of mixed ancestry "passing" as whites.

Q. All in all, what do you expect will be the effect of intermarriage on the race problem in the U.S.?

A. I don't regard it as either a threat or a promise. I do not think it is likely to be very significant.

Q. What do you foresee as the answer?

A. I think that material discrimination can be eliminated to a large extent by appropriate legal measures - and I would be in favor of such measures. By "material discrimination" I mean discrimination that places someone else at a material disadvantage because of race.

Personal preferences, however, cannot be thus eliminated - nor do I think we have a right to ask people to give up their preferences. If a man says "I don't like Negroes," that's a preference, just as though he were to say, "I don't like blondes." And as long as he does not discriminate against Negroes - that is, as long as he does not place them at a material disadvantage merely because of his personal dislike - then I think he is entitled to his dislikes.

Furthermore, in my opinion, a man is entitled, if he wishes, to remain separated from Negroes, wherever possible - a right to mix or not to mix, provided again that he does not thereby place the other person at a material disadvantage.

In the long run, we must hope that people will find it possible to accept the justice of nondiscrimination - but be content with the fact that some people simply don't like some other people. They have a right to likes and dislikes on any basis.

"NEVER LOOK TO INTERMARRIAGE AS A SOLUTION"

Interview with Dr. James M. Nabrit, Jr., President, Howard University,
Washington, D. C.

Dr. James M. Nabrit, Jr., is a Negro lawyer and educator. As a lawyer he handled many cases involving Negro civil rights. As an educator, he organized and taught the first course in civil rights to be offered in a U.S. law school. With Howard University since 1936, he became dean of the law school there in 1958 and president of the university in 1960. His age is 63.

Q. *Dr. Nabrit, do you think that we are going to see more racial intermarriage in the future in this country?*

A. I don't think so.

You know, intermarriage is a two-way street. It takes two people. And there just doesn't seem to be much desire for intermarriage on the part of either group. So I would never look to intermarriage as a solution to our problem. There just isn't that much intermarriage and I don't believe there's going to be that much.

Q. *How much importance do Negroes attach to interracial marriage?*

A. To an individual, marriage is a major interest. But up to this time interracial marriages have not risen to the level of importance which would warrant any broad legal consideration or treatment. Many questions of disabilities affecting masses of Negroes and other racial minorities are too critical for a diversion of scarce legal talent into studying the relatively minor area of interracial marriage.

In my teaching on civil rights over the years, we expended our efforts on basic areas of civil rights - namely, suffrage, housing, transportation, employment, education, public accommodations and justice before the courts.

The subject of interracial marriages, while generating much heat, is really not of sufficient scope at the moment to merit the publicity which it is receiving.

My own personal view is that interracial marriages are constitutionally protected, but they affect such small numbers of people that their consideration might very well be postponed at this critical time in the lives of our citizens.

Q. *If there were more interracial marriages, do you think that would help race relations?*

A. I don't know. My own opinion, which is not based upon study, is that the more contacts and the more relations we have between the races, the better the understanding will be. Now, whether or not this would be helped by interracial marriages, I'm just not able to say.

Q. *What do you think is the practical solution to the problem of race differences in this country?*

A. I think the practical solution is to give the Negro certain things like a fair break at a job and at advancement on that job, a fair chance at decent housing at a price which he can pay, a fair shake at education, and an opportunity to enjoy the normal use of public accommodations.

These in themselves would occupy him for many years in trying to take advantage of them, and the development through those areas would ameliorate many other things which are really primarily acerbations. You just get so frustrated at these major things that you strike out at everything and you get a feeling of hopelessness.

So, if you had these things, which most people in the country really don't object to as long as they are not affected - which most of them would accept - I think that to reach that stage in race relations would give us a long period in which the Negro would try to consolidate his position and consolidate these gains, and a lot of the fringe things that bother us would just vanish.

"WE'VE GOT A BLENDING OF RACES RIGHT NOW"

Interview with Dr. Margaret Mead, anthropologist and associate curator of ethnology, American Museum of Natural History, New York City

Dr. Margaret Mead is internationally known as an ethnologist, anthropologist and writer. She has made intensive studies of primitive societies and written several books about them. She also has made a continuing study of modern American society. Now, at 61, she is a professor of anthropology at Columbia University and associate curator of ethnology at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City.

Q. *Dr. Mead, does the United States have a racial problem that is unique in the world today?*

A. We are trying to do something in the United States that has as yet never been done. We have here representatives of all the great races of mankind. They arrived here under startlingly different conditions. The white European arrived as a happy and enterprising colonist and adventurer. The African arrived as an unwilling slave. The Asians were brought in originally as manual laborers. And the American Indian, of course, is the displaced original owner of this land - displaced at a time when his civilization was at a very simple technological level.

Now under these circumstances, with the best will in the world and with the highest religious and political ideals, it takes time to weld a unified people.

Q. Do you see a solution to this problem?

A. I don't think this is a single problem, or that it has a single solution. I don't like to call it a problem, but a situation. The situation contains problems - but also opportunities, hazards - and also new possibilities. You see, I don't like to describe it as the Negro problem. I think, given the situation we have in this country, we have the problem of blending peoples together harmoniously.

Q. What do you mean by "blending together" - integration?

A. Well, integration is the term that's being used at present, and it's being used almost exclusively to refer to Negro Americans - that is, to Americans with some African ancestry. This ignores the fact that Negro Americans have a large amount of European ancestry and are actually a new kind of people in the world.

But I think we ought to keep in mind that there are other groups in this country who are not fully integrated into American life - people who are not given all the privileges and opportunities that are appropriate for American citizens.

Q. Do you think that integration will remove whatever racial difficulties exist in this country?

A. No. I think people are always going to react to other people in terms of any kind of differences between them, and differences in racial ancestry are always going to be somewhat conspicuous.

Q. Do you foresee a time when we will have a blending of the races in this country - a physical blending?

A. Well, we've got a blending of the races right now. We have been blending busily with Africans ever since they landed on this shore. It is exceedingly difficult to find in this country today an individual of pure African descent.

Q. Do you expect integration to increase the amount of blending - the amount of racial interbreeding?

A. No. There may even be less.

Q. Why?

A. Because there may be a decreasing amount of illegal intermixture, for one thing. We've always had interracial breeding in this country. Now, the difference between interbreeding and intermarriage is that, with intermarriage, you treat the women of both races with equal courtesy and consideration. With integration, Negro women would be as well protected as white women are.

Q. *How about intermarriage? Will that increase?*

A. No. I don't see any reason to believe that there will be a great increase in intermarriage. I should think that, if we had really full integration, if Negro Americans acquired full civic and economic privileges, then conceivably the rate of intermarriage might go down. And certainly the rate of intermixture would go down, as the premium on illicit intermixture would go down. And the premium on "passing" - a person of part-African descent passing as a white - would disappear.

So, conceivably, the total amount of racial intermixture might decrease, rather than increase, because we have a general tendency in this country at the present time toward the self-segregation of like groups.

Most people nowadays want their children to marry people exactly like themselves. It makes life so much simpler if they eat the same foods and celebrate the same holidays and have the same prejudices.

When interracial marriages are fully sanctioned by society, both families are brought into the picture. Today, very often, young people who intermarry have to run away because they are marrying against the disapproval of both of their families and the entire society. And the average Negro family is not going to welcome intermarriage any more than the average white family.

Q. *Then you don't expect intermarriage to be a material factor in race relations in this country?*

A. Oh, yes. I think that every interracial marriage which is agreed to by both races - specifically by the families of the marrying pair - and which is treated with respect by society increases the possibility of both groups treating each other as equals. Americans, on the whole, do not believe that anyone they don't marry is their equal.

Q. *With the present attitudes of society, could interracial marriages impair racial relations, retard integration?*

A. To the extent that cross-racial marriage is heavily disapproved or punished in any way, this creates a temporary hazard to the orderly progress of integration, because it is not intermarriage that the Negroes are primarily working for at present. They are working primarily for public privilege and responsibility and opportunity for the right to vote, to buy a house in the same way that others buy houses, to send their children to a good school, and to have equal economic opportunity.

Intermarriage is not something that Negroes articulately are working for. Therefore, to put intermarriage at the forefront of the discussion is, to a degree, a distortion of what is actually going on in the civil rights movement.

Q. *As an anthropologist, do you see anything especially injurious or especially beneficial in race mixing?*

A. Well, there is a condition known as "hybrid vigor" which sometimes characterizes the descendants of different races or stocks - when they are physically superior in some way to either ancestral group. We recognize hybrid vigor in plants, in animals and in human beings as well. We can also say that when a group of living beings is segregated from crossbreeding, the descendants may develop characteristic weaknesses.

In general, we can say that quality of the individuals who are the offspring of crossbreeding will depend on the quality of the individuals who mate. If interbreeding occurs only among the least able members of two groups, then the outcome may be a group that is inferior to the rest of the population.

Q. *Is there any evidence that there are basic differences between the white and the black races that would raise a cultural barrier to their inter-marriage or interbreeding?*

A. There is not the slightest evidence that there are any basic differences that are relevant to culture. Science has not yet demonstrated - and that's all science can ever say - that there is the slightest correlation between those particular physical characteristics which cluster to produce what we call different races and those particular characteristics that are important to the development of culture.

By "culturally relevant" I mean intellectual ability, creativity and powers of self-discipline, development and character. All these things as far as we know now, are completely dependent in their expression on culture and learning.

Now there's one question you have not asked that comes up in such discussions. That is the question: "Don't you believe in heredity?"

Q. *Do you believe in heredity?*

A. Of course, but individuals inherit from individuals and not from races. Because we say that there are no differences among races does not mean that we are saying there are no differences among individuals. Of course there are. Every race has very bright people and very stupid people.

But if you have one race that is socially disadvantaged, then the children of that race usually will show a lower degree of achievement when achievement is measured. Then the accusation may be made that this race has a hereditary defect. But all the evidence we have at present suggests that any widespread defective achievement which is found is the result of faulty education and social deprivation - not of race.

"I DO NOT BELIEVE THERE IS A SUPERIOR RACE"

Interview with Dr. W. Montague Cobb, head of the anatomy department, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Dr. W. Montague Cobb is an anatomist, physical anthropologist and medical writer. A graduate of Howard University, Western Reserve University and Amherst College, he has taught anatomy at Howard since 1942, headed its anatomy department since 1947. His writings include biological studies of the U.S. Negro. He is 59, describes himself as of mixed race.

Q. *Dr. Cobb, what is the attitude among Negroes toward interracial marriages?*

A. I would say that on the whole, the Negro community accepts both partners in an interracial marriage - or should we say the "foreign" partner - more readily than the white community does. There is not so much intolerance.

But there is no particular desire among Negroes to intermingle or intermarry with whites.

Q. *Is there objection among Negroes to marrying whites?*

A. No. I would say just indifference. Both of my daughters married Negroes. They had other opportunities.

Q. *Among Negroes, is intermarriage considered an important factor in race relations?*

A. It never has been.

Q. *Do you anticipate any big increase in mixed marriages?*

A. There would be no deluge of interracial marriages even if there were no bars to them whatsoever, because that is not taking place now where the opportunity exists.

Q. *Do you think that, if there were more mixed marriages, it would increase social acceptance of them? Or would it increase racial tension?*

A. I can't evaluate that, but I don't think that anyone would advocate increasing mixed marriages. Marriage is a personal thing. I don't see how you can force it.

Q. *Do interracial marriages face considerable difficulties in the United States at present?*

A. Sometimes. There are places where an employee could be discharged if it is known that he or she is married to a member of the other racial group. In small communities, no matter how enlightened - like, say, university towns - the interracial couple is likely to have it hard. In large or cosmopolitan areas, where identities are not so important and there is relatively little neighborhood gossip, it doesn't matter so much. I know of a number of interracial marriages which are successful, and some that have broken up - but not on the grounds of race.

Q. Does the child of an interracial marriage face a severe handicap?

A. No. Now on this matter of intermarriage - I'd like to put that in the rather minor perspective in which I consider it by referring to what is talked about as "biological inferiority."

We know that people differ in their individual abilities and special talents, but there has never been any particular segment of mankind which has had a monopoly on superior ability or talent. And no great culture has developed in isolation. The possession of a capacity and its development are two different things.

Great cultures, or people with great potential, can stagnate by lack of contact. I do not believe that there is an inferior or a superior race.

Now as to what harm admixture does, I don't know of any evidence for that.

I am an admixed person myself and so I am able to regard this problem a little more objectively than someone who thinks he is all white - or all anything else. I have some Indian ancestors, some Caucasian - not known to me - and a larger segment of Negroid.

I've been unable to isolate any of my own qualities and say, "This came from that ancestor," or so on. And as far as I'm concerned, the racial identity of the fellow I've got to compete against has no meaning at all. And I am sure that there has never been any biological antipathy between human groups.

Furthermore, the white man doesn't know how many Negro genes he's got in him.

"NATURE DOESN'T CARE - BUT SOCIETY OFTEN DOES"

Interview with Dr. Brewton Berry, professor of sociology and anthropology, Ohio State University, Columbus Ohio

Dr. Brewton Berry is the author of an award-winning textbook, Race Relations, and of a recent study of Americans of mixed racial descent, Almost White. A graduate of Wofford College, Yale University and the University of Edinburgh, he taught at the Universities of Missouri and Rhode Island, and has been professor of sociology and anthropology at Ohio State University since 1946. His age is 62.

Q. Dr. Berry, is interracial marriage increasing in the United States?

A. It is my understanding that there has been a slight increase in some places such as New York. But the increase has not been sufficiently large to make it significant. It's very difficult to get reliable statistics on that subject. But the number of marriages between Negro and white is really very small in this country.

There has been, however, a great deal of mixing of white and Negro in this country - with or without marriage. This has been going on since colonial times.

The result is that about 70 per cent or so of the American Negroes today have some white or Indian blood - or both.

Q. *How about the number of whites with some Negro blood?*

A. Well, that's a subject that's almost impossible to study, since white people who are aware of Negro ancestry would conceal it. But there has been some investigation of that.

One study, using a rather elaborate statistical methodology, arrives at the conclusion that about 20 per cent of the white people in the United States have some Negro ancestry. I think this is not at all difficult to believe, because there's always been a certain amount of "passing." People leave the Negro race and slip over into the white classification surreptitiously. In my recent book, Almost White, I deal with a considerable population that is in the process of doing that now.

Q. *How extensive is this "passing?"*

A. Sociologists have studied this question, and a conservative estimate, I would say, is that 2500 persons per year resign from the Negro race and take up life as whites. Some people put the number much higher than that.

Q. *It has been suggested by some that mixing of the races - widespread intermarriage - might help solve the racial problems that exist in this country. As a sociologist, what is your view on that?*

A. I can't see intermarriage as a feasible or practical solution of any problem. It seems to me that when unlike racial and ethnic groups begin to eliminate their differences, intermarriage generally follows. But it's a consequence of solving the tensions and conflicts - not a means of solving them.

Q. *If intermarriage should become so extensive as to produce a racially blended population --*

A. I don't believe that intermarriage results in a blended population. Even with intermarriage occurring over a long period of time, we would still have persons who are physically different from each other, so that we would still have these racial characteristics that we could use as symbols of status if we chose to. So I don't see intermarriage as really relevant to the solution of our problem.

Q. *What has been the result in countries where there has been extensive intermixing of the races?*

A. In countries such as Brazil it is still advantageous to be light, rather than dark and a black skin is still a social handicap - although they do not attach anything like the significance to it that we do.

Q. *What are the effects of race mixing on individuals?*

A. The effects on interbreeding depend not on biology but on the social situation.

From a biological point of view, there has been a difference of opinion among scientists as to the biological consequences. Some have maintained that its results are disastrous - that it results in what they call "disharmonious combinations." Other biological scientists have maintained that the biological consequences are advantageous - that it results in what is known as "hybrid vigor."

My personal opinion is that nature doesn't care at all. I've been studying hybrid people for several years, and I am unable to report any monstrosities that result from the mixture. Nor do I find any great abundance of genius. So, in my opinion, nature doesn't care - one way or another - about the mixing of races. But society often cares. The social consequences are extremely important.

Q. *Do many Negroes want to marry whites?*

A. No. I think that intermarriage is at the bottom of their priority list. What Negroes want are their rights as citizens. I think most articulate Negroes would say that they feel if Negroes want to marry whites they should have the legal right to do so. But it's one thing to want the right and another thing to want the marriage. And Negroes I think, have little or no desire for marriage with whites.

Q. *If there were a sizable increase in marriages in the U.S., would there be a greater social acceptance of them or would resistance rise?*

A. Generally, I think, our prejudices follow our behavior, rather than the reverse, and if a particular practice became common or widespread, we would come to accept it. We get used to certain patterns of race relations and learn to accept them. I grew up in the South and I have seen this happen many times.

Q. *What do you see as the solution to the race problem in this country?*

A. Well, wherever unlike groups of people live together there's always tension and friction. This has always been the case, and probably will continue to be.

However, friction and tension and conflict can be reduced, if not entirely eliminated.

There are many places in our country and elsewhere where unlike people have learned to dwell together in peace and harmony, so I think there is a possibility of our minimizing or reducing, if not completely solving, our race problem.

Q. *How can we achieve this peace and harmony?*

- A. In my opinion, the United States has done a very good job in resolving many of our minority problems - a much better job than most countries. With respect to our Negro minority, we probably have done the poorest - and with respect to the American Indians, too.

Now I would say that in resolving a problem with minority groups, one fact that has to be considered is the wishes of the minority. There are some minority groups that don't want to be integrated. In the case of the Negro, he wants to be integrated into the mainstream of American Society. And I think that no solution is possible as long as we frustrate that wish. So I think that the solution lies in our eliminating the discriminations that the Negro suffers. But this is only part of the story.

Q. *What is the rest of the story?*

- A. I think the Negro himself needs to be prepared for integration through an educational program. We tend to blame most of our troubles on discrimination. But if discrimination could be eliminated instantly we would still have the problem because most Negroes lack the education and the skills to take advantage of the opportunities that integration would offer.

Also the fact that we have an unemployment problem in this country means that, even if the Negro had the education and the skills, there still are not enough jobs, and he is the one who feels the pinch first.

So I think the solution of the problem in this country lies in resolving our problem of unemployment, in improving the education of the Negro, and in the continuing elimination of the discriminatory obstacles that Negroes face.

"RACIAL MIXING COULD BE CATASTROPHIC"

Interview with Dr. Henry E. Garrett, professor emeritus of psychology, Columbia University and visiting professor of educational psychology, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia

Dr. Henry E. Garrett is a psychologist. Born in Virginia in 1894, he is a graduate of the University of Richmond and Columbia University. He taught at Columbia for 33 years, was head of the psychology department there from 1941 to 1956, now is professor emeritus at Columbia and visiting professor at the University of Virginia. He has written several books and made studies of racial comparisons.

Q. *Dr. Garrett, it has been suggested by some people that intermixing of the white and Negro races might be a solution to the race problem in this country. From your studies of racial differences, what is your opinion?*

- A. I think racial mixing is undesirable in this country and could be catastrophic. Racial amalgamation would mean a general lowering of the cultural and intellectual level of the American people.

Q. Why?

A. From what we know about race differences, the Negro has less of what I call "abstract intelligence" than the white man. He functions at a lower level when it comes to the sort of ability that creates a modern technical society. That is, he is not so able to think in terms of symbols - words, numbers, formulas, diagrams.

Q. What is the evidence for that?

A. The evidence goes back over nearly 50 years of psychological testing in this country. The differences between the two racial groups in a variety of mental tests are so large, so regular and so persistent under all sorts of conditions that it is almost unthinkable to conclude that they are entirely a matter of environment.

Q. What are these differences?

A. In recent studies in the South, it has been confirmed that, on the average, the Negro pupil is from 15 to 20 points in I.Q. behind the average white pupil in the kind of abstract intelligence that I spoke of. In school performance in the elementary grades the Negro lags from one to three grades behind the white student. In high school the lag is much greater.

Q. Do you mean that the Negro race is somehow inferior to the white race?

A. I don't mean that the Negro is generally inferior. Physically, he is certainly as strong and agile as the white man. But there are differences in the biology, in the brain structure and in the blood groupings of whites and Negroes. These are not very large, to be sure, but they are large enough to convince many of us that there are significant differences between the two racial strains, besides those brought out on the tests.

Q. Have any of these differences shown up in the Negro's behavior or accomplishment?

A. The fact that the Negro lags in abstract intelligence - in the ability to deal with symbols - is shown, I think, in his history.

The Negro in Africa has exhibited little capacity for creating a civilization such as that in Europe. He is today pretty much where he was 5,000 years ago. South of the Sahara Desert there was never any literate civilization. The Negro invented no system of writing. He didn't build a bridge or a terrace, domesticated no animals, did not discover the principle of the wheel, probably did not discover how to build a fire.

Arnold Toynbee, the eminent British historian, has said that, of the 21 great civilizations of the past, not one was in black Africa.

It seems to me that this fits in with the lag which we find in this country in mental testing.

Now, when you come to a race mixture, I don't see that there would be any evil effects so far as the physical structure of the hybrid is concerned. We all know that the mulatto is viable - he lives as long as the Negro or the white man. The difficulty, it seems to me, comes in mass mixing, which is the goal of the Negro pressure groups.

Q. *Do you think that mass intermarriage is a major Negro goal?*

A. You can't help but think so. If you look at any Negro newspaper or magazine, or if you listen to the statements made by such people as Adam Clayton Powell, the Negro Congressman from New York, you get the idea clearly brought out that what they look to is an amalgamation with the white group. I think they strive for amalgamation because they feel that they'll never get social equality without it.

Q. *Do you foresee a material increase in racial intermarriage as a result of integration in this country?*

A. I don't see how intermarriage can fail to increase if young people of both races are thrown together in their formative years. I think that's what the Southern white parent dreads most.

I am afraid that what a good many white parents are going to do is to teach their children to hate Negroes to offset what they think might be the result of intimate personal contact.

This would lead to a very unhappy situation. We regard any alien group as people to be treated courteously and fairly only when they constitute no threat to us.

Q. *Isn't the Negro improving as his status improves in this country?*

A. The Negro has not improved intellectually in this country, relative to the white man, in spite of his great social and economic progress. In the first World War, for example, about one Negro out of seven did as well as the average white soldier. In World War II, about one in seven or eight did as well, and in the Korean War we had exactly same ratio. That is, while both groups improved, they maintained the same relative distance, the one from the other.

I think one of the fundamental fallacies in the thinking of many people today is that the Negro is a sunburned white man, and if he is treated fairly well will behave like a white man. My contention is that he will never behave like a white man because he is not a white man.

The Poles, the Italians and the Irish were assimilated into the American populace because they are all Caucasian. If the Negro assimilated, however, you are likely to get a mixture such as one sees in some of the West Indian islands, in Puerto Rico, in parts of Brazil and in Central America.

Q. *What have been the results of racial amalgamation in other countries?*

A. I don't believe that, historically, amalgamation with the Negro has ever done anything except lower the general level of the national life of those people who have been willing to mix.

Q. *How long would it take to obtain a racial amalgamation in this country?*

A. It would probably take 200 or 300 years to absorb all of the Negroes in this country or to get their number down to a very small proportion. Even then we would probably have a caste system based on race and color - a stratification of society in which you would have a group of white people who would refuse to mix, a group of very black people of low intelligence who would not mix because they couldn't, and a large intermediate group that would continually be pressing to displace the upper white group.

Q. *What do you see as the ultimate solution to the race problem in the United States?*

A. I don't think there is any pat solution. I suspect that there will be a long series of adjustments over the years. It might well be that, as the Negro gets more status, better jobs and more acceptance in public accommodations, then he will cease to strive so hard to push into white society.

But whatever happens, I believe we'll continue to have a kind of segregated society - a society that is segregated socially, though not segregated in some other respects.

MINNESOTA ASSURES EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN EMPLOYMENT

PUBLIC POLICY

" . . . The public policy of Minnesota is to foster equal opportunity for all individuals, regardless of their race, color, creed, religion, or national origin. . . ."

COVERAGE

The Minnesota State Act Against Discrimination applies uniformly throughout the state and declares certain conduct "unfair discriminatory practice."

UNFAIR DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES IN EMPLOYMENT

For A Labor Organization

To deny equal membership rights to an applicant or to a member, or to expel a member, or to discriminate against an applicant or member with respect to his hire, apprenticeship, tenure, compensation, terms, upgrading, conditions, facilities or privileges of employment, or

For An Employer

To refuse to hire an applicant for employment; or to discharge an employee, or to discriminate against an employee with respect to his hire, tenure, compensation, terms, upgrading, conditions, facilities, or privileges of employment because of race, color, creed, religion, or national origin.

For An Employment Agency

To refuse to accept, register, classify properly, or refer for employment or otherwise discriminate against an individual because of race, color, creed, religion or national origin.

To comply with a request from an employer if the request indicates directly or indirectly that the employer is attempting to evade the provisions of this act.

For An Employer, Employment Agency or Labor Organization

To discriminate against a person who has opposed any practice forbidden under this act. To wilfully interfere with the Commission in the performance of duty under this act. To require, before employment or membership the applicant to furnish information that pertains to his race, color, creed, religion or national origin.

For Anyone

To attempt intentionally to aid, abet, incite, compel, or coerce another person to engage in any of the practices forbidden in this act.

EXEMPTIONS

This act applies to employers, labor organizations, and employment agencies, but does NOT cover: 1. employment of individual by his immediate family, 2. persons employed in domestic service, 3. religious or fraternal organizations or societies when religion shall be a bonafide occupational qualification for employment.

ADMINISTRATION AND PROCEDURE

State Commission Against Discrimination.

The Commission consists of nine members, one from each Congressional District, and one at-large member.

In dealing with specific complaints, the enforcement procedures are carefully prescribed. A complaint must be filed within six months of the incident. No lawyer is needed and the Commission's services are free.

After a complaint has been received by the Commission, the staff immediately conducts a thorough investigation into the allegation and reports to the Commission.

The Commission carefully weighs all of the facts presented and then determines whether or not there is probable cause to substantiate the allegation of discrimination. If probable cause is found, the Commission must attempt to conciliate the matter through education, conference, and persuasion in order to bring about compliance with the law.

If conciliation is unsuccessful, the Commission shall call a public hearing. When all parties have been heard, the Commission determines whether or not the respondent has engaged in the alleged unfair discriminatory practice. If the allegation has been proven, it issues an order to cease and desist from the act of discrimination. If the Commission order is not complied with, a proceeding may be instituted in district court for enforcement. Failure to comply with an order of the court may result in contempt of court.

If the Commission finds the respondent has not engaged in the alleged unfair discriminatory practice, it shall dismiss the complaint.

The Commission, in addition to its administrative duties, is responsible for affirmative action which, through its powers of education and persuasion, will secure compliance with the law.

HOW TO FILE A COMPLAINT

If you believe you have been discriminated against in your attempt to achieve equal employment opportunity because of your race, color, creed, religion or national origin you should --

COME, PHONE, OR WRITE to the

State Commission Against Discrimination
53 State Office Building
St. Paul, Minnesota
Telephone: 221-2931

A staff representative will assist you in filing your complaint. All complaints are handled in confidence up to the point when public hearing is necessary.

WHO CAN HAVE A COMPLAINT

Any individual who believes he has been discriminated against because of race, creed, color, religion or national origin.

Any interested person who has knowledge of an unfair discriminatory practice.

The State Commission Against Discrimination can initiate a complaint based on knowledge furnished by other persons.

The Minnesota State Act Against Discrimination protects against reprisal any person who has filed a complaint, testified or opposed any practice forbidden by this act.

PRE-EMPLOYMENT INQUIRY GUIDE

In Minnesota

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Lawful Pre-Employment Inquiry</u>	<u>Unlawful Pre-Employment Inquiry</u>
Name:	Previous names used by applicant which have not been changed by court order. Have you ever worked for this company under a different name? Maiden name of a married woman applicant.	Original name of an applicant whose name has been changed by court order.
Address:	Applicant's place of residence	
Duration of Residence:	How long a resident of this state of city?	
Birthplace:	Can you, after employment, submit a birth certificate? If not, can you, after employment, submit other proof of place and date of birth?	Birthplace of applicant. Birthplace of applicant's parents, spouse or other relatives. Requirement that applicant submit birth certificate, naturalization, or baptismal record prior to employment.
Religion or Religious Creed:		Inquiry into an applicant's religious denomination, affiliations, church, parish, pastor or religious holidays observed.
Race or Color:		Race, color or complexion.
Photograph:	Requirement of photograph after employment.	Requirement that an applicant for employment affix a photograph to his employment application form. Request an applicant, at his option to submit his photograph. Requirement for photograph after interview but before hiring.
Citizenship:	Are you a citizen of the United States? Can you, if required, submit proof of citizenship? If not a citizen of the United States, does applicant intend to become a citizen of the United States? If you are not a United States Citizen, have you the legal right to remain permanently in the United States? Do you intend to remain permanently in the United States?	Of what country are you a citizen? Whether an applicant is naturalized or a native born citizen (the date when the applicant acquired citizenship). Requirement that an applicant produce his naturalization papers or first papers.

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Lawful Pre-Employment Inquiry</u>	<u>Unlawful Pre-Employment Inquiry</u>
Citizenship (cont.):	Requirement that applicant state whether he has ever been interned or arrested as an enemy alien.	
National Origin:	If, for the purpose of national security, this information is required by the United States, this state or a political subdivision or agency of the United States of this state.	Inquiry into applicant's: a. Lineage b. Ancestry c. National Origin d. Descent e. Parentage f. Nationality Nationality of applicant's parents or spouse.
Languages:	Inquiry into languages applicant speaks and writes fluently if a bonefide occupational qualification. What foreign language do you read fluently? Write fluently? Speak fluently?	
Education:	Inquiry into the academic, vocational or professional education of an applicant and the public and private schools he attended.	
Experience:	Inquiry into work experience.	
Character:	Inquiry into character of applicant.	
Organizations:	Inquiry into the organizations of which an applicant is a member excluding organizations, the name or character of which indicates the race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry of its members.	Inquiry into the organizations of which the applicant for employment is a member, the name or character of which indicates the race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry of its members.

MINNESOTA ASSURES EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

PUBLIC POLICY

" . . . The public policy of Minnesota is to foster equal opportunity for all individuals, regardless of their race, color, creed, religion, or national origin . . ."

COVERAGE

The Minnesota State Act Against Discrimination applies uniformly throughout the state and declares certain conduct "unfair discriminatory practice."

UNFAIR DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES IN HOUSING

For an owner, lessee, sublessee, assignee, or managing agent, real estate broker or salesman, banks or other financial institutions or lenders, or any person . . .

TO DISCRIMINATE on the basis of race, color, creed, religion, or national origin, in any transaction involving the renting, leasing, or purchase of real property, or the terms, conditions, or privileges of the transactions; and

TO DISCRIMINATE in granting, extending, or making mortgages or providing financial assistance; and

TO DISCRIMINATE in the showing or handling of property for rent, lease or sale.

TO ENGAGE in economic reprisal against a person who has opposed a practice forbidden by this act.

TO INTENTIONALLY AID, abet, incite, compel, or coerce any other person to engage in any practice forbidden by this act;

TO WILFULLY OBSTRUCT or prevent compliance with the provisions of the act;

TO ATTEMPT directly or indirectly to commit any of the practices forbidden by the Minnesota State Act Against Discrimination.

EXEMPTIONS

This act prohibits discrimination in transactions involving real property carried on by an owner, lessee, sublessee, assignee, or managing agent, real estate broker or salesman, banks or other financial institutions or lenders but does NOT cover:

1. The rental of a portion of a two-family dwelling where one unit is owner occupied;
2. The rental of rooms in a one-family accommodation occupied by the owner; and
3. The rental, lease or sale of a one-family dwelling, owner-occupied, not defined as a publicly assisted housing accommodation.

ADMINISTRATION AND PROCEDURE

State Commission Against Discrimination.

The Commission consists of nine members, one from each Congressional District, and one at-large member.

In dealing with specific complaints, the enforcement procedures are carefully prescribed. A complaint must be filed within six months of the incident. No lawyer is needed and the Commission's services are free.

After a complaint has been received by the Commission, the staff immediately conducts a thorough investigation into the allegation and reports to the Commission.

The Commission carefully weighs all of the facts presented and then determines whether or not there is probable cause to substantiate the allegation of discrimination. If probable cause is found, the Commission must attempt to conciliate the matter through education, conference and persuasion in order to bring about compliance with the law.

If conciliation is unsuccessful, the Commission shall call a public hearing. When all parties have been heard, the Commission determines whether or not the respondent has engaged in the alleged unfair discriminatory practice. If the allegation has been proven, it issues an order to cease and desist from the act of discrimination. If the Commission order is not complied with, a proceeding may be instituted in district court for enforcement. Failure to comply with an order of the court may result in contempt of court.

If the Commission finds the respondent has not engaged in the alleged unfair discriminatory practice, it shall dismiss the complaint.

The Commission, in addition to its administrative duties, is responsible for affirmative action which, through its powers of education and persuasion, will secure compliance with the law.

HOW TO FILE A COMPLAINT

If you believe you have been discriminated against in your attempt to acquire housing or other real property because of your race, color, creed, religion or natural origin, you should - -

COME, PHONE, OR WRITE to the

State Commission Against Discrimination
53 State Office Building
St. Paul, Minnesota
Telephone: 221-2931

A staff representative will assist you in filing your complaint. All complaints are handled in confidence up to the point when public hearing is necessary.

WHO CAN FILE A COMPLAINT

Any individual who believes he has been discriminated against because of race, creed, color, religion or national origin.

Any interested person who has knowledge of an unfair discriminatory practice.

The State Commission Against Discrimination can initiate a complaint based on knowledge furnished by other persons.

The Minnesota State Act Against Discrimination protects against reprisal any person who has filed a complaint, testified or opposed any practice forbidden by the Act.

MINNESOTA ASSURES EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

PUBLIC POLICY

" . . . The public policy of Minnesota is to foster equal opportunity for all individuals, regardless of their race, color, creed, religion, or national origin . . ."

COVERAGE

The Minnesota State Act Against Discrimination applies uniformly throughout the state and declares certain conduct "unfair discriminatory practice."

UNFAIR DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES IN PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

For any person or group of persons to exclude another person or group of persons from full and equal enjoyment of any public accommodation, transportation and facilities, such as:

- public conveyances
buses, trains, taxis, airplanes
- hotels
motels, boarding homes, tourist homes, resorts, trailer courts, inns, camp grounds
- restaurants
cafeterias, drive-ins, lunch counters, lunchrooms
- places of refreshment
saloons, bars, taverns, soda fountains
- places of amusement
theaters, stadiums, roller rinks, golf courses, sports arenas, swimming pools
- other accommodations
beauty salons, barbershops, gasoline station, retail stores, wholesale firms

ADMINISTRATION AND PROCEDURE

State Commission Against Discrimination.

The Commission consists of nine members, one from each Congressional District, and one member at-large.

In dealing with specific complaints, the enforcement procedures are carefully prescribed. A complaint must be filed within six months of the incident. No lawyer is needed and the Commission's services are free.

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If the Commission finds the respondent has not engaged in the alleged unfair discriminatory practice, it shall dismiss the complaint. The Commission, in addition to its administrative duties, is responsible for affirmative action which, through its powers of education and persuasion, will secure compliance with the law.

HOW TO FILE A COMPLAINT

If you believe you have been discriminated against in your attempt to use a public accommodation you should --

COME, PHONE OR WRITE to the

State Commission Against Discrimination
53 State Office Building
St. Paul, Minnesota
Telephone: 221-2931

A staff representative will assist you in filing your complaint. All complaints are handled in confidence up to the point when public hearing is necessary.

WHO CAN FILE A COMPLAINT

Any individual who believes he has been discriminated against because of race, creed, color, religion or national origin.

Any interested person who has knowledge of an unfair discriminatory practice.

The State Commission Against Discrimination can initiate a complaint based on knowledge furnished by other persons.

The Minnesota State Act Against Discrimination protects against reprisal any person who has filed a complaint, testified, or opposed any practice forbidden by the Act.

THE MINNESOTA RECORD-PROGRESS IN CIVIL RIGHTS (1957-1965)

1857 - Minnesota Constitution

Art. I, Section 2. No member of this State shall be disenfranchised or deprived of any of the rights or privileges secured to any citizen thereof, unless by the law of the land, or the judgment of his peers. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the State otherwise than the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

Art. I, Section 16 - The State is prohibited from infringing on freedom of religion.

Act. I, Sec. 17 - Religious tests are prohibited as qualifications for voting or holding public office.

1877 - Discrimination in admission to public schools prohibited. Sec. 127.07

1877 - Segregation in public schools outlawed. Sec. 127.08

1885 - Discrimination in public accommodations prohibited. Sec. 327.09

1895 - Discrimination outlawed in life insurance. Sec. 61.05-06.

1919 - Any written instrument relating to or affecting real estate which intends to discriminate on the basis of religious belief forbidden. (This was expanded to cover discrimination on the basis of race or color in 1953.) Sec. 507.18

1921 - Lynching outlawed. Sec. 613.67

1923 - Wearing of masks for reasons other than amusement or entertainment, prohibited. Sec. 615.16.

1927 - Discrimination outlawed in hairdressing schools. Sec. 155.11

1939 - Discrimination on basis of religious or political affiliation outlawed in civil service. Sec. 43.5, 43.24.

1941 - Discrimination in liability insurance prohibited. Sec. 72.17

1941 - Discrimination in employment practices forbidden in government contracts. (State, county, city, town, school district.) Sec. 181.59

1943 - Governor's Inter-Racial Commission established. (Name changed to Governor's Human Rights Commission in 1957.)

1947 - Discrimination based on religion, politics or other affiliation prohibited in selection of tenants for public housing projects. (Race added in 1955) Sec. 462.481

1947 - Discrimination in the use of housing and other redevelopment projects outlawed on basis of religion, politics, or other affiliation. (Race added in 1955) Sec. 462.641

- 1947 - Discrimination in the use of any land in a redevelopment project forbidden.
Sec. 462.525
- 1951 - Discrimination in municipal civil service outlawed. Sec. 44.07-08
- 1955 - Fair Employment Practices Commission established. (Name changed in 1961
to State Commission Against Discrimination.)
- 1957 - Practices of discrimination and segregation in housing declared to be
against the public policy of Minnesota. Fair housing opportunities declared
to be a civil right. 953 Sec. 1, 2.
- 1961 - Minnesota State Commission Against Discrimination established to implement
the public policy of Minnesota, "To foster equal employment and housing
opportunity for all individuals in this state in accordance with their
fullest capacities, regardless of their race, color, creed, religion, or
national origin, and to safeguard their rights to obtain and to hold em-
ployment, housing and other real property without discrimination. Chapter
363 of Minnesota Statutes 1961.
- 1963 - Indian Affairs Commission established, Sec. 2 (3.922) See 1963 Session Laws.
- 1965 - Indian Affairs Commission funded. Jurisdiction for public accommodations
discrimination violations to the State Commission Against Discrimination.
Numerical exemptions for employers under the FEP law eliminated. SCAD given
responsibility for holding public hearings. See Chapter 363, Minnesota State
Act Against Discrimination.

MINORITY GROUPS IN MINNESOTA

Although almost everyone in Minnesota could claim membership in some minority group, the peoples cited below share one thing in common which is of particular interest to the Governor's Human Rights Commission. In greater or lesser degrees members of these minority groups face problems of discrimination in housing and employment, and often lack access to opportunities open to other citizens of the state.

The following table shows the number and percentage of increase of minority group members in Minnesota's population.

<u>Number of:</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>% of Increase</u>
Negroes	14,022	22,263	58.8
Indians	12,533	15,469*	23.6
Japanese	1,049	1,726	64.5
Chinese	720	1,270	76.4
Filipinos	-	646	-
Others	462	860	

* Other estimates of Indian population are as high as 25,000. Lack of accurate estimates are due to difficulties in definition and identification and to the mobility of the population.

Although not specifically designated in the census data, there are approximately 4,000 permanent residents of Mexican origin in Minnesota. The annual arrival of migrant workers of Mexican descent adds 12,000 persons to the population between the months of April and November.

THE NEGRO IN MINNESOTA:

The largest number of Negro citizens reside in the Twin Cities and Duluth. In 1960 there were 11,785 Negroes in Minneapolis, 8,240 in St. Paul and 565 in Duluth. Negroes also lived in thirty other Minnesota urban areas with populations over 10,000.

The 1960 census report revealed the consequences of the lack of employment opportunities for many Negroes. This discrepancy was reflected, for example, in income levels. Median incomes for non-white families living in the same city, as indicated below:

	Median Income	
	<u>For all Families</u>	<u>For Non-White Families</u>
Minneapolis:	\$6401	\$4598
St. Paul:	\$6543	\$4641
Duluth:	\$5877	\$3390

Similar evidence of lack of housing opportunities was revealed by the concentration of Negro families in certain areas of these cities. It was because of such evidence that the State Commission against Discrimination came into being during the 1961 legislative session. It is now a "Declaration of Policy" of the state of Minnesota that "Such discrimination (in housing, employment and public accommodations) threatens the rights and privileges of the inhabitants of this state and manaces the institutions and foundations of democracy."

THE INDIAN IN MINNESOTA:

There are about 11,000 Chippewa Indians in northern Minnesota, on or near reservations, and about 400 Sioux in southern Minnesota.* Northern reservations include:

- Fond du Lac
- Grand Portage
- Leech Lake
- Mille Lacs
- Nett Lake (Bois Fort)
- Red Lake
- White Earth

* Tribal rolls indicate larger numbers but the data were based on estimated resident population.

Sioux communities include:

- Upper Sioux (Granite Falls)
- Lower Sioux (Morton)
- Prairie Island (Red Wing)
- Prior Lake (Shakopee)
- Winnebago (Houston)

Indians reside in all urban areas with population over 10,000 in Minnesota although the greatest number live in the Twin Cities.

Besides facing severe employment problems in many areas, lack of adequate housing facilities, and problems in the field of health, the Indian confronts a unique problem in the area of the administration of justice. This rises partly from the complex, ill-defined relationship of the Indian to the federal, state and tribal governments. The question of jurisdiction also stands in the way of providing adequate services in several areas.

The 1963 legislature created an Indian Affairs Commission to investigate the coordination of government activities affecting Indian citizens and to make recommendations to the Governor and legislature on a program for the future. In 1965 the legislature recognized the Indian Affairs Commission for funding.

THE MIGRATORY WORKER IN MINNESOTA:

Close to 95% of the 12,000 migratory workers who come to Minnesota sometime between April and November are of Mexican descent. About 7500 persons actually work in the field, and the rest are non-working family members.

The chief occupation for migrant workers in Minnesota is working in the sugar beet fields. The rate of pay for this particular type of farm work is set by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. The average worker earns about \$300 per season for six to eight weeks of work in Minnesota and then moves on to another state. While the worker averages between \$1.00 and \$1.25 an hour in Minnesota, he receives less in most states and his income fluctuates also with the amount of time lost between jobs. During his stay in Minnesota the migrant worker receives some services such as job placement from the Minnesota Employment Security Office.

With a few exceptions the migratory workers in Minnesota are United States citizens who reside in southeast Texas during the off seasons. Here the children attend school until early spring when the family begins its migration. Because of language difficulties and limited school attendance, few children of migrant workers achieve enough education to become more skilled and enter other fields of work. Hence, they are caught in the same cycle of limited education, limited economic opportunity as their parents.

DIRECTORY OF MINNESOTA HUMAN RELATIONS ORGANIZATIONS AND AGENCIES

Federal and State civil rights laws constitute important legislation; however, implementation is a major current need. The principles of justice in housing, employment, education, public accommodations, and other areas must be acted upon at the level of individuals. Throughout the state there are many organizations - public, private and voluntary - offering help and information to those who wish to effect human betterment. This guide attempts to list these resources.

Concerned citizens using this guide will find that many of these organizations will provide information, educational materials and speakers. Through these resources each Minnesotan can obtain specific information about intergroup problems, discriminatory practices and methods to correct them.

American Civil Liberties Union, Minnesota Branch

925 Upper Midwest Building
Minneapolis, Minnesota
333-2534

The ACLU is the only permanent, non-partisan national organization devoted solely to the defense of the constitutional rights of freedom of expression, freedom of religion, due process and equal protection of the laws and other freedoms in the Bill of Rights and Constitution for everyone. Its activities include providing volunteer lawyers in important constitutional cases and engaging in educational and legislative programs.

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

127 North 7th Street
Minneapolis, Minnesota
335-3277

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is a national organization dedicated to the preservation and enrichment of America's democratic legacy. Education, community action, legal and court action when necessary are the dynamic means ADL uses to achieve better human relations. ADL offers a broad educational program utilizing films, publications, recordings and speakers and develops human relations programs with other organizations.

Catholic Interracial Council of the Twin Cities

2388 University Avenue
St. Paul, Minnesota 55114
646-0103

The Catholic Interracial Council seeks to educate, to involve and to commit Catholics to their moral obligation in the field of interracial justice. The Council works through parishes, schools and other Catholic organizations, and also conducts an educational grant program for minority group youngsters in Catholic schools. The C.I.C. cooperates with other human relations organizations in securing legislation and carrying out social action programs.

Fridley City Human Relations Committee

6431 University Avenue N.E.
Minneapolis, Minnesota
560-3450

The primary purpose of the Committee is to encourage the establishment and development of amicable human relations through the process of education among both young and old, emphasizing the desire for good human relations within the city. The Committee shall

perform such functions as may be provided by the City Council, including the making of recommendations to the Council as to methods and means by which the basic policy of the city relative to human relations may be effectively established and developed; provided that the Committee shall not itself be created and established as an enforcement agency of the city to make a determination in any particular dispute or to prosecute any law or ordinance adopted for the promotion of such public policy. The Committee shall be composed of fifteen members: three from each ward and six to be appointed from the city at large.

Golden Valley Human Rights Commission

7800 Golden Valley Road
Golden Valley 27, Minnesota
545-3781

The nine member Commission appointed by the Village Council is essentially an educational body. Currently the Commission is working on the development of human relations programs that can be presented at meetings of village, civic, service and church organizations, and making an employment survey of public and private employers.

Governor's Farm and Migratory Labor Advisory Committee

c/o Minnesota Department of Employment Security
369 Cedar Street
St. Paul, Minnesota 55101
221-3696

Advisory to the Commissioner of the Minnesota Department of Employment Security and his staff on matters pertaining to the recruitment and employment of agricultural workers is the Governor's Farm and Migratory Labor Advisory Committee. In addition, the Committee gives counsel and information to other State agencies concerned with the health, education, welfare and other problems of the migrant worker and his family. The Committee is concerned with all problems of the migrant agricultural worker and his family such as: the educational opportunities provided the children of migrant workers, establishment of day care centers, hospitals and medical attention, insurance, and other matters closely associated with the health, education and welfare of the migrant workers and their families who come to Minnesota each year. The Committee was appointed by the Governor and consists of twenty-four members representing principal farm organizations, major employers of agricultural labor, unions, farmers, religious groups and migrant worker representatives, as well as representatives from State departments and federal agencies.

Governor's Human Rights Commission

72 State Office Building
St. Paul, Minnesota 55101
221-2931

The Governor's Human Rights Commission is charged with conducting an educational program in civil and human rights and human relations. Its programming is on a state-wide basis, and it involves working with human rights citizen's committees in communities throughout the state. The Commission works in all civil and human rights areas that are not the responsibility of the State Commission Against Discrimination. The Commission has a major program interest concerning problems of migrant workers, Indians, Negroes, and other minority groups. It works to build a climate of harmonious relations among the State's various racial, religious, nationality and ethnic groups. A major part of the Commission's objectives require research and fact finding efforts as a prelude to submitting policy recommendations to the Governor's office, the legislature, state agencies, and other public bodies. As part of its educational functions, the Commission develops and distributes brochures, pamphlets and other publications.

Greater Minneapolis Council of Churches

Christian Social Relations Department
122 West Franklin Avenue
Minneapolis, Minnesota
332-2571

This department guides churches and individuals in many areas of human relations, acts as consultant on programming and coordinates efforts of church volunteers.

International Institute of St. Paul, Inc.

183 West Kellogg Blvd.
St. Paul, Minnesota 55102
222-1754

A non-political, inter-faith, inter-racial social service agency with an open membership of both foreign and native born. The primary emphasis is service to those of foreign birth or background. Services include: counseling and case work, educational classes, and recreation. A hospitable setting is provided in which both native and foreign born may meet to help each other, to exchange cultural heritages and ideas, and to promote forces that will produce the best possible human relationships within the community.

Japanese American Community Center

3045 Park Avenue South
Minneapolis, Minnesota
822-0433

This organization provides information and social work services to the Japanese American Community. It also sponsors social and cultural programs which are open to the general community.

Jewish Community Relations Council of Minnesota

100 North 7th Street
Minneapolis, Minnesota
338-7816

The Council is an exclusively charitable and educational human relations agency for the Jewish community in the State of Minnesota. It seeks to promote the social welfare through programs and activities designed to lessen neighborhood tensions, and to eliminate prejudice and discrimination. It accomplishes this by presenting public discussion groups, forums, panels, lectures, public speaking contests and similar programs, and also distributes printed materials, books, and audiovisual materials to carry out its educational purposes.

Metropolitan Clearing House

Nicollet Avenue at Washington
Minneapolis, Minnesota
336-3397
c/o St. Paul Council of Human Relations
65 East Kellogg Blvd.
St. Paul, Minnesota
224-2421

The major function of the Metropolitan Clearing House is to provide the minority home buyer or renter access to the non-discriminatory seller or landlord. A client-centered approach is followed which deals with the individual's specific needs and problems of finding suitable housing. The Clearing House also provides an area-wide exchange of views and projects encouraging occupancy and it sponsors educational programs in various neighborhoods and communities. The Metropolitan Clearing House is not a real estate agency. After the original introduction and referral, all negotiations and

business details are left to the listing parties or their agents. The Clearing House publishes a monthly Newsletter concerning fair housing activities in the seven county metropolitan area.

Migrants, Incorporated
221-3224

Minneapolis Council of Americanization
324 Times Annex Bldg.
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401
336-2246

The Council is a non-profit, non-partisan United Fund Agency established in 1919, to coordinate and initiate plans furthering better American citizenship; to encourage friendly relations among all races and creeds; to render service in problems of immigration, naturalization and community adjustments. It furnishes information, technical assistance and counseling.

Minneapolis Department of Civil Rights
Room 315, WCCO Building
625 Second Avenue South
Minneapolis, Minnesota
330-7736

Minneapolis Fair Employment Practice Commission
250 South Fourth Street, Room 515
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401
330-2090

The Commission is a regulatory municipal agency charged with the responsibility of administering the city ordinance which prohibits discrimination in employment based on race, religion or nationality; receiving and investigating complaints; promoting co-operation among all groups for the purpose of effectuating the policies of this ordinance; and conducting studies, surveys and projects to provide information aiding in an effective acceptance as well as the enforcement of the ordinance.

Minneapolis Mayor's Commission on Human Relations
222 Public Health Center
250 South Fourth Street
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401
330-2735

The Mayor's Commission on Human Relations is an official agency of the City government created to reduce prejudice and discrimination through research, education and social action. It presently has programs in the areas of education, employment, housing, law enforcement and community relations. Through involvement of cooperating agencies and organizations the Commission intends to represent a base of resources for coordinated planning in the field of civil rights.

Minneapolis Urban League
3750 Fourth Avenue South
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55403
827-1773
1016 Plymouth Ave. North
Minneapolis, Minnesota

The Minneapolis Urban League is a voluntary organization for social service, education, social action and community planning to improve the general economic life and well-being of the Negro and related minority populations in the Minneapolis area. The Urban League

provides services in the following program areas: Employment and Job Development, Education and Youth Incentives, Health and Welfare and Housing. The League is one of the seventy-two affiliates of the National Urban League, and a member agency of the United Fund, Community Chest and the Health and Welfare Council of Hennepin County. Membership is open to anyone wishing to support the program.

Minnesota Council of Churches

Department of Christian Social Relations

122 West Franklin Avenue

Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404

332-2571

This Department seeks to quicken the sense of social responsibility of the churches for the moral and ethical well-being of the state, the nation, and the world, and to provide a channel through which the member communions can cooperate for study and action in such committees and units as: legislative studies and services, race relations, civil rights, Indian ministry, alcohol education and international affairs.

Minnesota Council for Civil and Human Rights

319 Savage Lane

St. Paul, Minnesota 55117

373-5251

The Council is the coordinating organization for groups interested in legislation pertaining to civil rights at the state level. It also serves anti-discriminatory agencies in an advisory capacity. Council activities include the development of a legislative program in consultation with all interested parties, drawing up the actual legislation, seeking public and legislative support, lobbying and public relations. It is active on a year-around basis, but does much of its work through committees. Both individual and group memberships in the council are encouraged. An individual membership costs \$3, and a group membership \$10 per year. Both groups and individuals must signify their sympathy with the purposes of the Council. Memberships are approved by the executive board. Dues and membership applications should be sent to the treasurer, c/o 2230 Como Avenue, St. Paul.

Minnesota Council on Religion and Race

Nicollet Avenue at Washington

Minneapolis, Minnesota

336-3397

The Minnesota Council on Religion and Race was organized for the purpose of developing an interfaith conference concerning race relations in Minnesota. Following a conference, plans were laid for the development of a full-time interfaith program offering to service the needs of participating religious faiths and to serve as a source for joint action projects by these denominations. Programs currently include: the Current Issues Committee which studies and responds to immediate problems of concern to the community and develops positions for the total Council to consider on legislation and other forms of public action; the Inner-City Committee which is responsible for over-seeing the action of the Council in the field of housing, further programs are in the developmental stage; City-Suburban-Rural Co-ordinating Committee which is currently responsible for the development of a voluntary hospitality program in cooperation with the Job Corps program in Minnesota, the employment opportunity program and the development of a human relations committee in Meeker County; The Indian and Frontiers of Thinking Committees are inactive; Ad Hoc Committees are organized to work directly on specific programs which require an ecumenical approach.

Minnesota Indian Affairs Commission

309 Capitol
St. Paul, Minnesota 55101
221-2009

An official state government commission established for the purpose of acquiring information in the fields of employment, housing, civil rights, education, health, welfare and law with the view in mind to recommend legislation and work out programs with Indian people for increasing their self-sufficiency.

Minnesota International Center for Students and Visitors

711 East River Road
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455
373-3200/373-3860

The International Center is a voluntary non-profit organization founded to serve as the liaison between visitors and students from abroad and the community. This liaison is accomplished through visits with American families, discussion groups, city and state tours, speaking engagements, tickets to cultural events, and information on community events. The Center programs leaders and specialists visiting our area under the auspices of the U.S. Department of State and other governmental and national agencies. The source of income is from membership and contributions.

Minnesota State AFL-CIO Federation of Labor Interim Civil Rights Committee

414 Auditorium
St. Paul, Minnesota
227-7647

This Committee acts on behalf of the state federation in all civil rights matters.

St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly Fair Employment Practices and Human Rights Committee

Labor Temple
St. Paul, Minnesota
227-7301

Minneapolis Central Labor Union Human Rights Committee

255 Ulysses N.E.
Minneapolis, Minnesota
781-7689

Both the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly FEP Committee and the Minneapolis CLUC Human Rights Committee represent the city central bodies in all civil rights activities and are responsible for civil rights programs of these central bodies.

Minnesota Women's Committee on Civil Rights

Room 72, State Office Building
St. Paul, Minnesota 55101
221-2158

The Minnesota Women's Committee on Civil Rights is an outgrowth of the late President Kennedy's call for civil rights action to women's organizations. The committee is composed of representatives of approximately 50 women's organizations in Minnesota and it has the five following program responsibilities:

1. Seek ways to eliminate school dropouts by promoting a program to get all educable children back into school and keep present enrollees in school.
2. Participate in work of human relations committees in their communities and where none exist, secure the establishment of such committees.

3. Establish leadership training for all women in intergroup relations.
4. Support, where conviction and program permit, the proposed legislative program on civil rights.
5. Open their organizations to women of all races.

The Governor's Human Rights Commission provides staff services to this organization.

Minnesota World Affairs Center

167 Social Science Tower
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455
373-3740

The purpose of the Minnesota World Affairs Center is to interest and inform citizens about world affairs. It carries out its purpose through such activities as helping groups plan programs, providing free and inexpensive materials, advising on films and answering inquiries. It also organizes lecture series, conferences and seminars on current foreign policy issues.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

4044 Oakland Avenue South
Minneapolis, Minnesota
822-3464
334 North Milton Avenue
St. Paul, Minnesota
227-5354

The N.A.A.C.P. opposes racial discrimination on moral, legal and economic grounds. It uses state and federal courts to secure justice and to remove jim crow barriers. It works for enactment of laws and carries on an educational and public relations program to create opinions favorable to equal rights and brotherhood. The association's objectives include equal justice under the law, equal opportunity in employment, and the elimination of discrimination in public accommodations and in housing.

National Conference of Christians and Jews

520 National Building
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55402
336-5365

The N.C.C.J. exists to promote justice, amity, understanding and cooperation among Protestants, Catholics and Jews; to analyze, moderate and finally eliminate intergroup prejudices, with a view to the establishment of a social order in which the religious ideals of brotherhood and justice shall become the standards of human relationships. Program services include: speakers for meetings, movies, slides, films, discussion outlines and study courses, institutes and workshops as well as sponsoring Brotherhood Week.

St. Paul Council of Human Relations

65 East Kellogg Blvd.
St. Paul, Minnesota 55101
224-2421

The Council's objective is to foster sound inter-group relations by promoting good will and understanding among our diverse people. Educational activities include service to public and private schools, speakers, panels, book reviews, exhibits, films and a reference room. The program includes assistance and counsel on intergroup problems. The Council works closely with the United Church Committee On Indian Work in helping Indians make the adjustment to city life. The Metropolitan Clearing House now has headquarters in the Council office and provides a listing of rentals and sales properties

available to minorities. It is a non-profit, non-sectarian organization supported by contributions, memberships and supplemented by city funds. Four times a year the Council publishes the Human Relations Quarterly.

St. Paul Human and Civil Rights Commission

1745 City Hall and Court House
St. Paul, Minnesota 55102
223-4288

The St. Paul Human and Civil Rights Commission is a city government commission of eleven members administering the ordinance forbidding discrimination in employment, education, housing accommodations, public accommodations and public services based upon race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry. Responsibilities include processing of complaints, conciliation, consultation services and research. The educational services offered include speakers, programming assistance and informative publications.

St. Paul Urban League

Suite 407, 65 E. Kellogg Blvd.
St. Paul, Minnesota 55101
222-2539

The St. Paul Urban League is one of seventy-two affiliates of the National Urban League. It is an interracial social service agency, geared for social action in the field of social work. Its philosophy is that the inequalities suffered by the Negro population in American life are the concern of the whole American community, and that they will be adjusted permanently only through cooperation of all the people. The program centers around race relations, employment and job development, education and youth incentives, health and welfare, housing and religious resources. Member agency Greater St. Paul United Fund and Council, Inc., Affiliate National Urban League.

Twin Cities Opportunities Industrialization Center (TCOIC)

517 Marquette Avenue
Minneapolis, Minnesota
333-4561

United Church Women - Christian Social Relations Department Greater Mpls. Council of Churches

122 West Franklin Avenue
Minneapolis, Minnesota
332-2571

The United Church Women through their social relations department coordinate and stimulate efforts of Protestant and Orthodox church women's groups in the realm of human relations.

The Way Community Center

1913 Plymouth Avenue North
Minneapolis, Minnesota
522-4395

Suburban Human Rights Committees

(Minneapolis - St. Paul Metropolitan Area)

Bloomington Human Relations Council

John A. Thomasberg, Chairman
8912 Morgan Avenue South
Bloomington, Minnesota 55431
888-3401

Calhoun Isles Human Relations Committee

Max Fallek, Chairman
7906 West 23rd Street
Minneapolis, Minnesota
331-1311/545-1187

The Committee To Welcome Minority Citizens To Edina-Morningside

Rev. Arthur A. Rouner, Jr., Co-Chairman
Colonial Church of Edina
5532 Wooddale Avenue
Edina, Minnesota
926-2751

Rev. Roger W. Johnson, Co-Chairman
Edina-Morningside Congregation Church
4201 Morningside
Edina, Minnesota
926-6555

Dale-Selby Action Council

Russell F. Barnes, Chairman
829 Portland
St. Paul, Minnesota
227-2827

Golden Valley - New Hope Human Relations Council

Michael Swirnoff, Chairman
18 Western Terrace
Golden Valley, Minnesota
544-3203/332-4356

Greater Burnsville Human Relations Council

Orville Wright, Chairman
11009 Territorial Drive
Burnsville, Minnesota 55378
454-2956

Hopkins Council on Religion and Race

Sam Sweet
407 Fifth Avenue North
Hopkins, Minnesota
935-7691

Minnetonka Eden Prairie Council on Religion and Race

John Hynes, Chairman
5313 Beacon Hill Road
Minnetonka, Minnesota
935-3934

Northeast Human Relations Council

David Stoppel, Chairman
3439 McKinley Street N.E.
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55418
781-3724

North Suburban Council on Civil Rights

David E. Wold, Chairman
2333 Priscilla
St. Paul, Minnesota
645-5923

Mrs. William Bushnell, Secretary
910 West Burke
St. Paul, Minnesota 55113
489-9294

North Suburban Human Relations Council of Crystal, Robbinsdale, New Hope and Brooklyn Center

Mrs. Jack Goodwin, Chairman
4657 Louisiana Avenue North
Crystal, Minnesota
537-6791

St. Louis Park Human Relations Committee

Peter Lindberg, Chairman
5700 West Lake Street
Minneapolis, Minnesota
929-3404

South St. Paul Human Relations Council

Howard Ramaley, Jr., Chairman
210 West Spruce
South St. Paul, Minnesota 55075
451-3937

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights - National Office

801 Nineteenth Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20425

Human Relations Council of South Washington County

Mrs. John Taube, Chairman
2083 Island Drive
St. Paul Park, Minnesota 55071
459-4024

West St. Paul Human Relations Council

Dr. Charles B. Lundquist
421 Ruby Drive
West St. Paul, Minnesota 55118
224-1656

White Bear Lake Area Human Relations Council

Russell Swenson, Chairman
2171 Roth Place
White Bear Lake, Minnesota 55110
429-3954

Federations of Human Rights Committees

South East Suburban Human Relations Council

Hardy Wright
1132 Sibley Highway
St. Paul, Minnesota
698-5155/646-4664

West Suburban Conference on Religion and Race

Vern Bloom, Chairman
5234 Mayview Road
Minnetonka, Minnesota 55343
935-5759/332-5275

TRANSPARENCY MASTERS

FOR

UNIT I

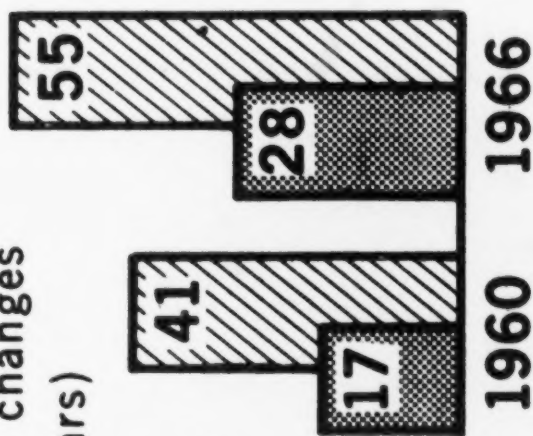
1. Relative Status of Negroes and Whites
2. Unemployment - Real and Hidden
3. O.E.O. Projects
4. Racial Crisis: A Program for Action
5. Basic Causes of the Negro Rioting
6. "Only One Door"

RELATIVE STATUS OF NEGROES AND WHITES

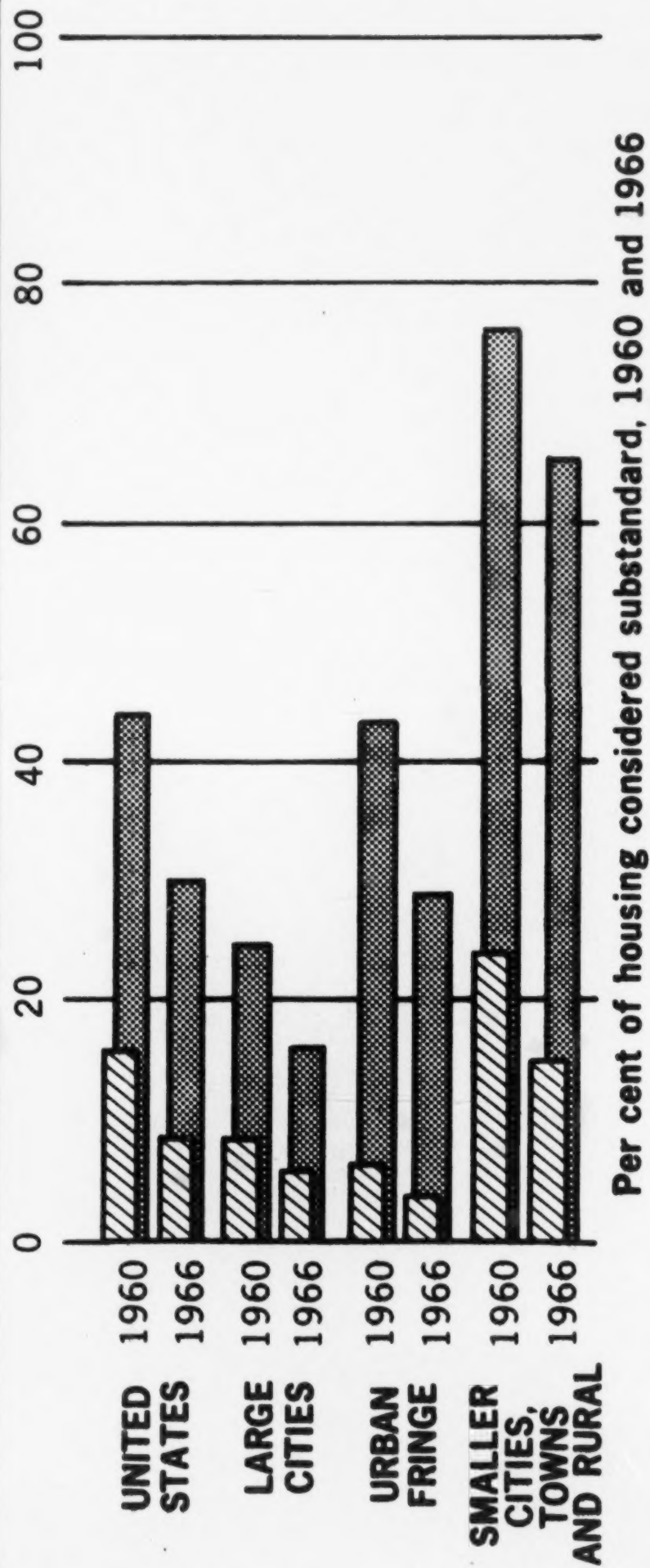
WHITE NONWHITE

(Adjusted for price changes
in 1965 dollars)

Per cent of families
with income of
\$7,000 or more

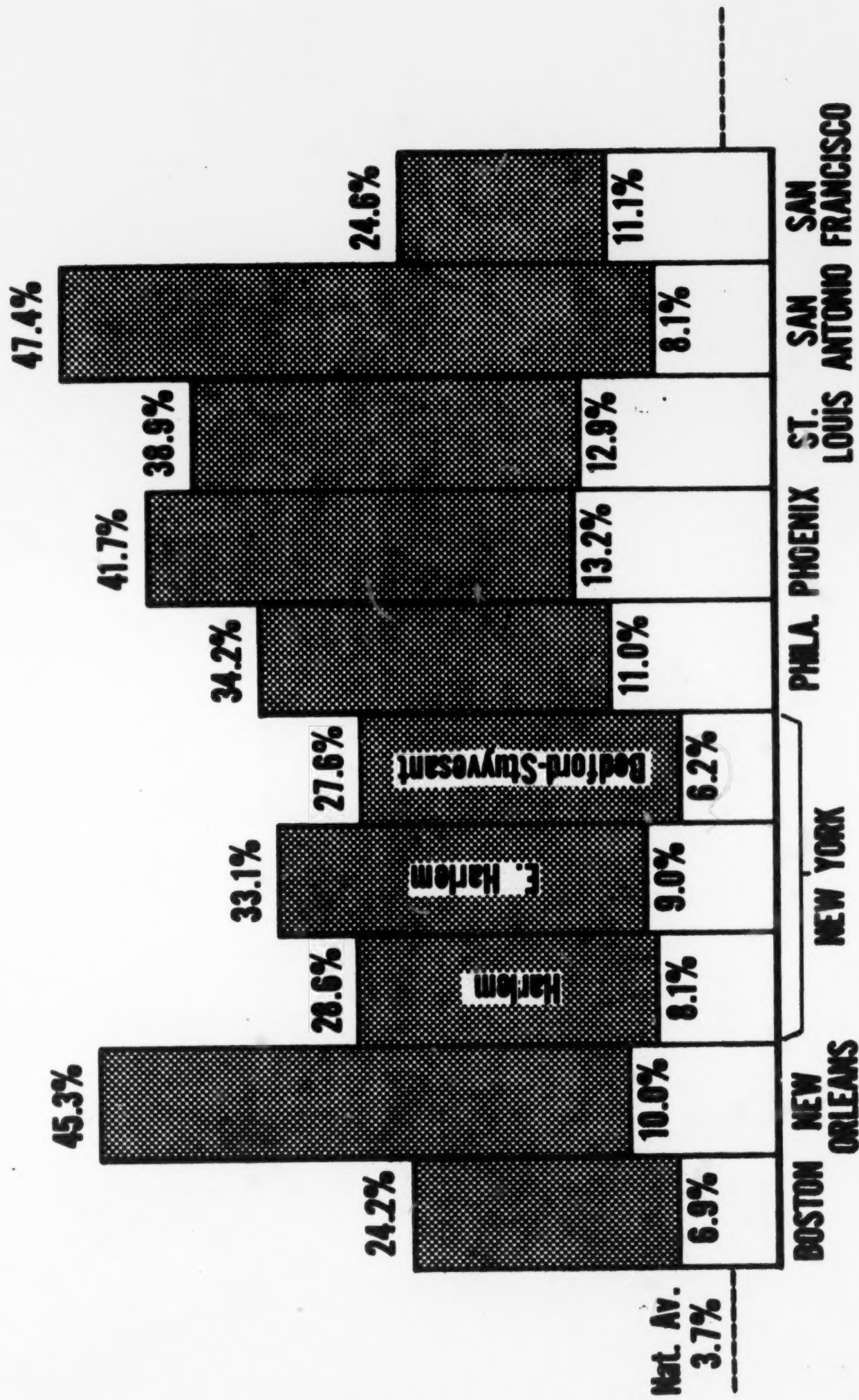


Unemployment rates



Per cent of housing considered substandard, 1960 and 1966

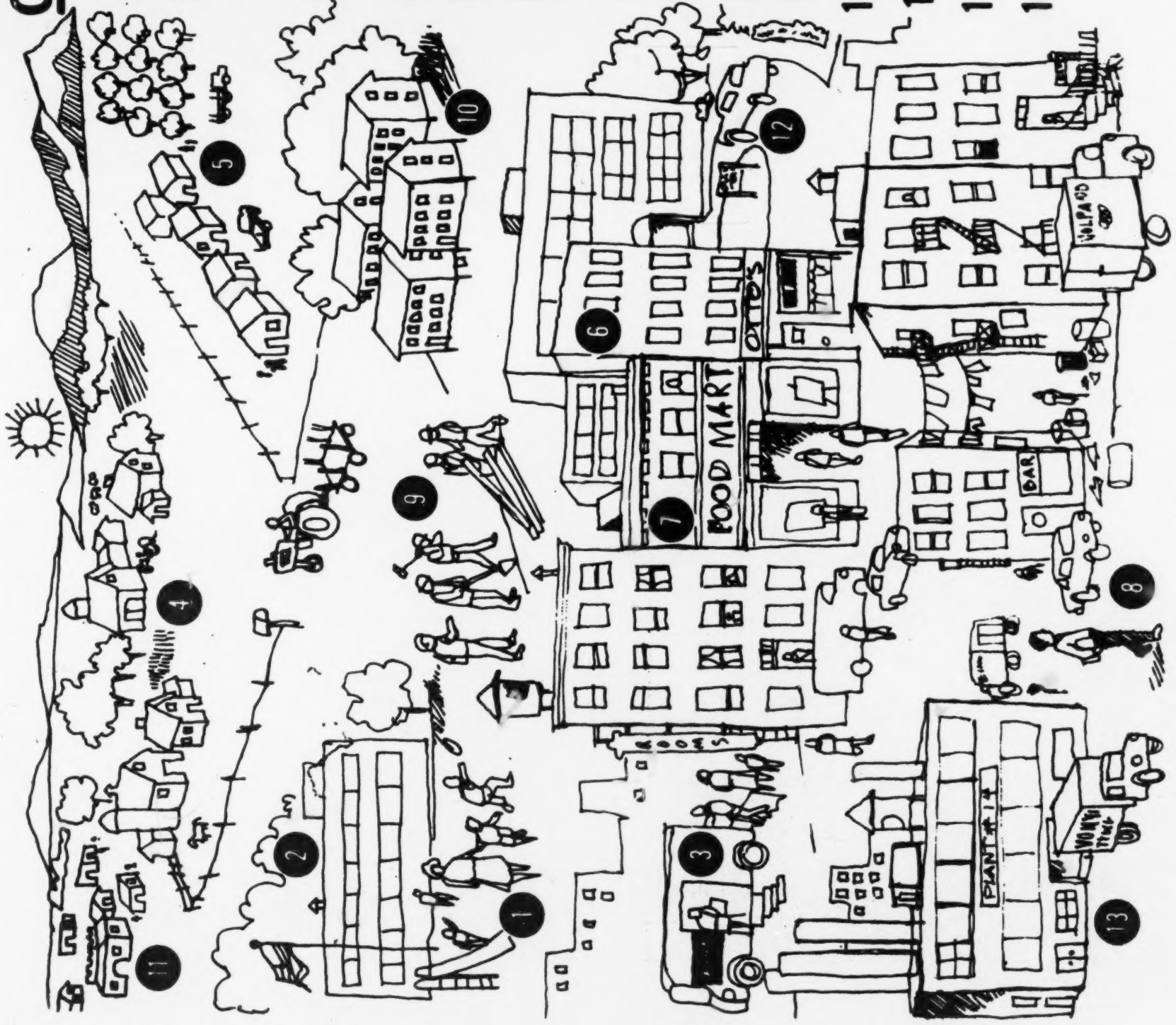
UNEMPLOYMENT- REAL AND HIDDEN



Peter Sullivan - Sunday Times, London

OEO PROJECTS

1. HEAD START
2. UPWARD BOUND
- ADULT BASIC EDUCATION
3. NEIGHBORHOOD HEALTH CENTERS
4. GREEN THUMB
5. MIGRANT OPPORTUNITIES
6. COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS
7. NEIGHBORHOOD SERVICE CENTERS
8. VISTA
9. YOUTH CORPS
10. JOB CORPS
11. INDIAN OPPORTUNITIES
12. FOSTER GRANDPARENTS
13. WORK EXPERIENCE.



THE RACIAL CRISIS: A PROGRAM FOR ACTION



THE PRESIDENT

- ① Inspire a sense of urgency
- ② Appoint a top-level coordinator



THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

- ① Reduce the budget deficit
- ② Expand adult job-training programs
- ③ Make welfare programs accessible to all the poor
- ④ Increase funds for rent supplements, Model Cities
- ⑤ Subsidize a summer reading program
- ⑥ Vigorously enforce civil-rights laws
- ⑦ Guarantee business insurance losses from riots



**STATE AND LOCAL
GOVERNMENT**

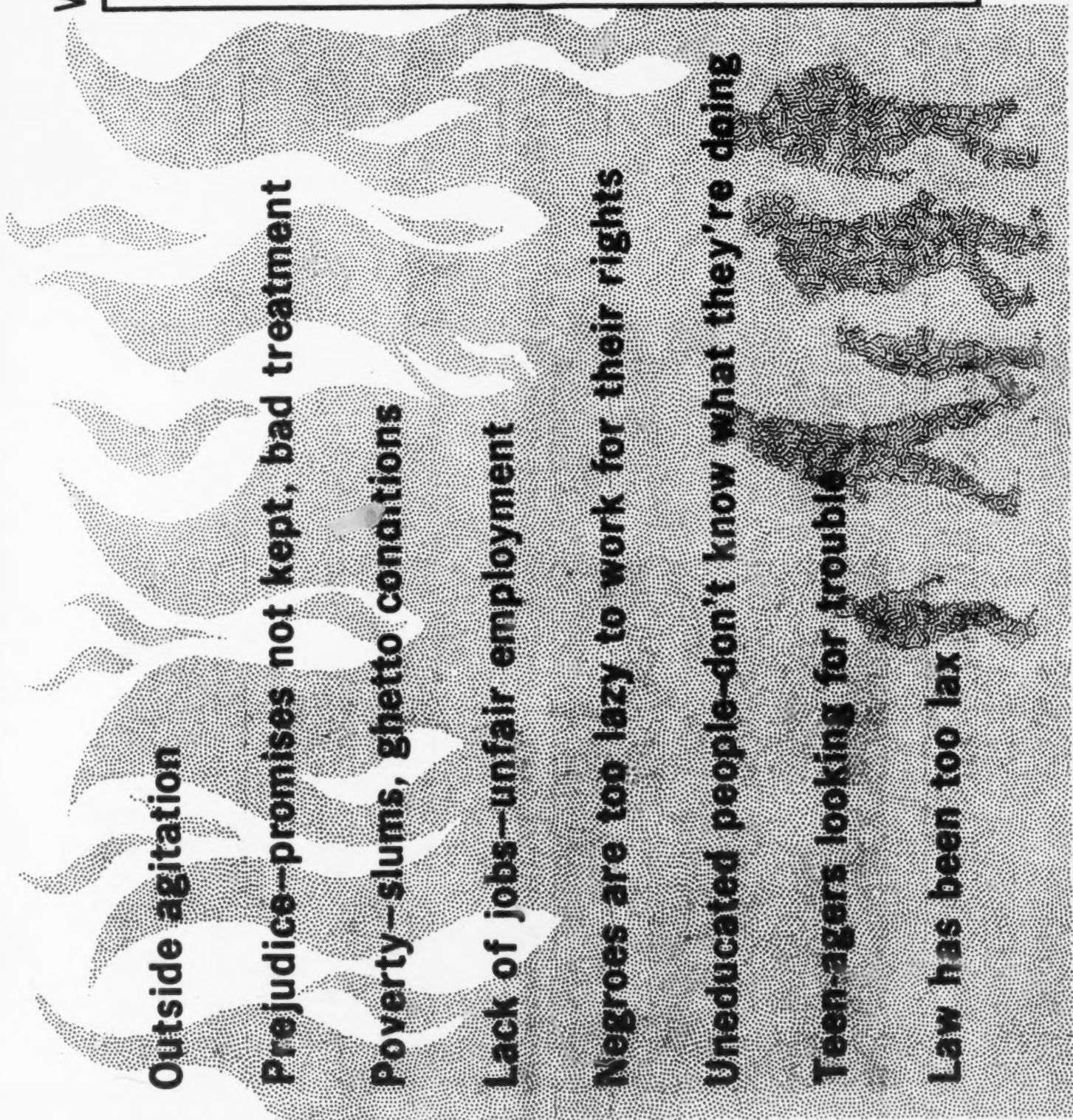
- ① Provide increased public services
- ② Train police in riot control



THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY

- ① Seek out and train the unemployed
- ② End union discrimination
- ③ Invest in slum rebuilding

BASIC CAUSES OF THE NEGRO RIOTING



White %	Negro %
45	10
16	36
14	28
10	29
13	5
11	9
7	7
7	1/2

Outside agitation

Prejudice--promises not kept, bad treatment

Poverty--slums, ghetto conditions

Lack of jobs--unfair employment

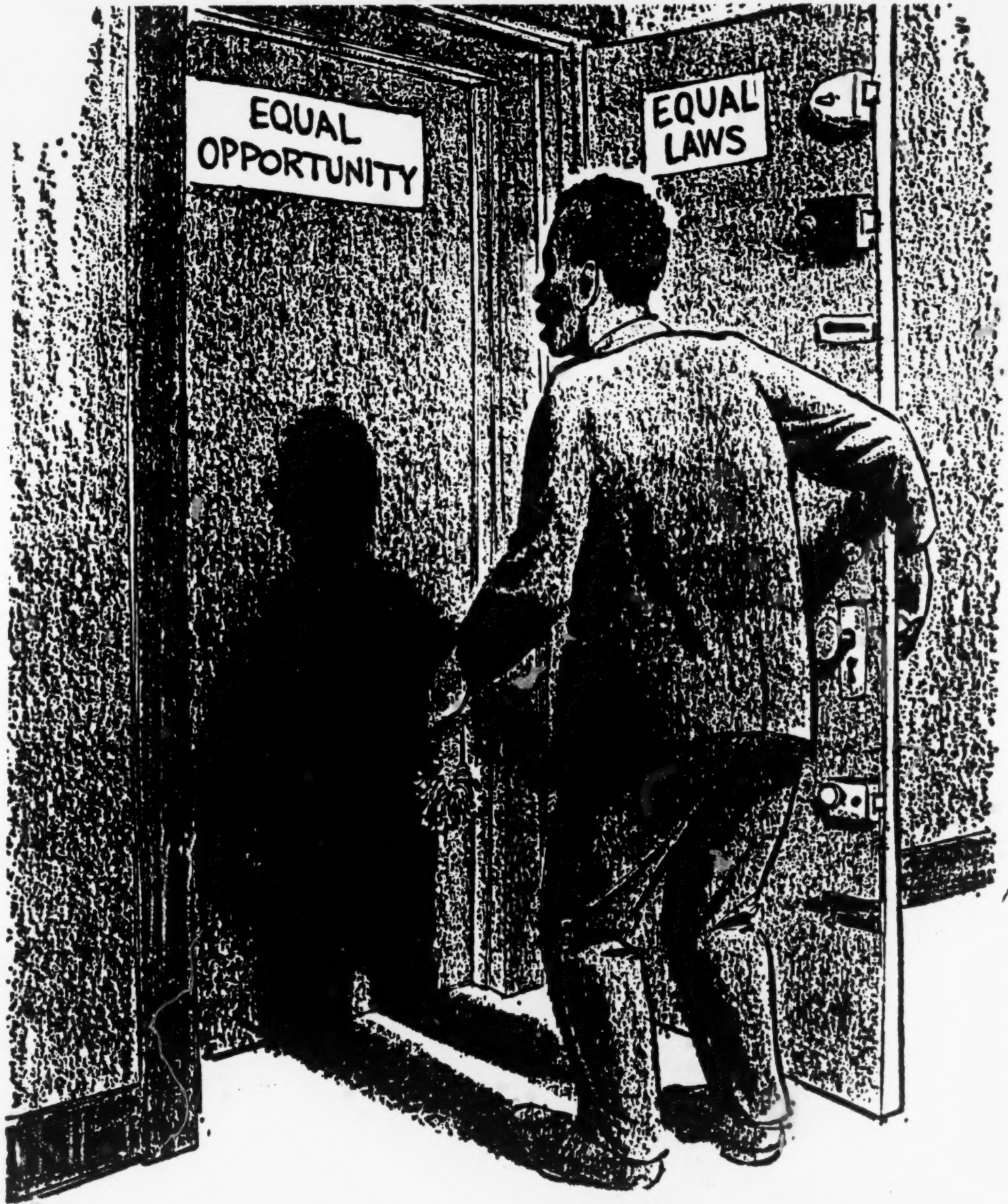
Negroes are too lazy to work for their rights

Uneducated people--don't know what they're doing

Teen-agers looking for trouble

Law has been too lax

"Only one door."



Engelhardt in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

RECOMMENDED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON MINORITIES

- NOTE: 1. Dewey number indicates that the book is in either the Kennedy or Lincoln High School library.
2. pb indicates a paperbound book
3. MPSS indicates that book is recommended as part of Project Social Studies.

DEWEY NUMBER		AUTHOR	TITLE
323		Abrams, Charles	<u>Forbidden Neighbors</u> A study of prejudice in in housing.
301.45	pb MPSS	Allport, Gordon W.	<u>The Nature of Prejudice</u> A comprehensive and detailed study of the phenomenon of prejudice.
970.1		American Heritage Aptheker, Hubert	<u>American Indian</u>
	pb	Aptheker, Hubert	<u>American Negro Slave Revolts</u> <u>Toward Negro Freedom</u>
309.175		Archibald, H.	<u>Negro History and Culture</u>
325.2		Ashmore, Harry S.	<u>An Epitaph for Dixie</u>
301.45		Ashmore, Harry S.	<u>The Other Side of Jordan</u>
970.5		Avins, A.	<u>Open Occupancy vs Forced Housing</u>
		Baerreis, D.	<u>Indian in Modern America</u>
301.45	pb pb MPSS	Baker, Ray S	<u>Following the Color Line</u>
301.45		Baldwin, James	<u>The Fire Next Time</u>
		Baldwin, James	<u>Nobody Knows My Name</u>
	pb	Baldwin, James	<u>Notes of a Native Son</u>
	MPSS	Bailey, H. S.	<u>Negro Politics in America</u> A collection of readings
		Bardolph, Richard	<u>The Negro Vanguard</u> A very interesting history which traces the achievements of outstanding American Negroes from 1770 to the present. Presents the struggle of many Negroes confronted with pre- judice and discrimination, to positions of importance and influence.
325.73	MPSS	Barrett, R. H.	<u>Integration at Ole Miss</u>
325.73		Barron, Milton L.	<u>American Minorities</u>
		Baruch, Dorothy	<u>Glass House of Prejudice</u> A hard hitting treatment of the causes and results of American attitudes toward its minority groups - Mexican, Negro, Oriental and others. It contains an interesting section on the "Cures of Prejudice."

301.451		Bates, Daisy	<u>The Long Shadow of Little Rock</u>
331.1		Becker, Gary S	<u>Economics of Discrimination</u>
323.4		Belfrage, Sally	<u>Freedom Summer</u> A report on the 1964 Mississippi summer project.
323.1		Belth, N. C.	<u>Barriers</u> Deals with the situation of the Jew in America. Comments on discrimination and its causes.
		Benedict, Ruth	<u>Race: Science and Politics</u> A clear discussion of the race problem by a distinguished cultural anthropologist.
		Bennett, S.	<u>Before the Mayflower</u> The best popular history - eminently readable.
		Bennett, S.	<u>The Negro Mood</u>
		Bernegan, P.	<u>No More Strangers</u>
		Bettelheim and Janowitz	<u>Social Change and Prejudice: A</u>
325.73	pb	Bibby, Cyril	<u>Profile of the Negro American</u>
	pb	Blair, Lewis	<u>Race, Prejudice and Education</u>
379.767		Blossom, Virgil T.	<u>A Southern Prophecy</u>
811		Bontemps, Arna W.	<u>It Has Happened Here</u>
325.2		Bontemps, Arna W.	<u>American Negro Poetry</u>
325.2		Bontemps, Arna W.	<u>100 Years of Negro Freedom</u>
			<u>Story of the Negro</u>
301.451		Bowen, David	<u>The Struggle Within</u>
301.45		Boyle, Sarah Patton	<u>The Desegregated Heart</u>
379	pb	Brickman, William W.	<u>Countdown On Segregated Education</u>
	MPSS	Brink and Harris	<u>Black and White</u>
301.451		Brink, W.	<u>The Negro Revolution in America</u>
301.451	MPSS	Broom, L.	<u>Transformation of the Negro American</u>
		Brown, Claude	<u>Manchild in the Promised Land</u> An autobiography of a Harlem boy describing the pressures of ghetto life.
325.73		Brown, Frances J.	<u>One America</u>
325.2		Brown, Ina C.	<u>Race Relations in a Democracy</u>
		Buckmast, H.	<u>Freedom Bound: The Real Story of</u> <u>the Reconstruction</u>
Ref 323.4		Bureau of Natl. Affairs	<u>The Civil Rights Act of 1964:</u>
		Washington, D. C.	<u>Text, Analysis, Legislative History</u>
301 451	pb	Burns, W. H.	<u>Voices of Negro Protest in America</u>
325.2		Cable, George W.	<u>The Negro Question</u>
301.45		Canzoneri, Robert	<u>"I Do So Politely"</u>
	pb	Carmichael and Hamilton	<u>Black Power, The Politics of</u>
	MPSS		<u>Liberation in America</u>

- 323.4 pb Carter, Hodding
Cash, W. J. So the Heffners Left McComb
Mind of the South
A penetrating and persuasive study of the Southern philosophy, temperament and social customs. These things are related to, and given as insights into, the treatment of Negroes in the South.
- 301.451 MPSS Cayton, H. R. Black Metropolis
Cayton, H. R. Long, Old Road
Clark, Kenneth Dark Ghetto
Dilemmas of social power - highly readable.
- 301.451 Clark, Kenneth The Negro Protest
325.2 Clark, Margaret Health in the Mexican-American Culture
323 Claude, Inis L. National Minorities
371.97 Clift, Virgil A., ed. Negro Education in America
Cloyton The Negro Politician: His Success and Failure
- MPSS Cohen and Murphy Burn, Baby, Burn
The Los Angeles race riot
- 373.73 Conant, James B. Slums and Suburbs
323.1 Conant, Melvin Race Issues on the World Scene
301.451 Conference on Jewish Social Studies Negro-Jewish Relations in the U.S.
370.19 Corwin, Ronald G. A Sociology of Education
- 301.451 Cox, O. C. Caste, Class and Race
Daniel B. Black, White and Grey
325.2 Davie, Maurice Rea Negroes in American Society
pb Davis, Allison Children of Bondage
Davis, Allison Deep South
- MPSS Davis, John P. The American Negro Reference Book
Dorman, Michael We Shall Overcome
A reporter's eyewitness account
Dexter, Harriet H. What's Right With Race Relations
By the use of real experience and actual people, many types of discrimination are discussed. These include labor, housing, education, civil rights and others.
- 323.4 pb Douglas, W. Mr. Lincoln and the Negroes
Drake, S. & Clayton Black Metropolis
An interestingly written account of Negro life in the Northern city of Chicago.
- pb DuBois, W. E. Black Reconstruction
DuBois, W. E. Darkwater Dusk of Dawn
301.451 pb DuBois, W. E. The Souls of Black Folk
Durham and Jones The Negro Cowboys
Ellison, R. Shadow and Act

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|---------|------|--------------------------|---|
| | | Embry, Carlos | <u>America's Concentration Camps</u>
What conditions do the American Indians live under on the reservations? This book gives some answers. |
| 301.45 | MPSS | Epstein, Benjamin | <u>Some of My Best Friends</u> |
| | | Faimor, James | <u>Freedom - When?</u> |
| | | Fast, Howard | <u>Freedom Road</u> |
| | MPSS | Ferman, Kornblub, Miller | <u>Negroes and Jobs</u>
A book of readings |
| 301.452 | pb | Flannery, Edward | <u>The Anguish of the Jews</u> |
| | MPSS | Forten, C. | <u>A Free Negro in the Slave Period</u> |
| | | Franklin & Starr | <u>The Negro in 20th Century America</u>
A reader on the struggle for civil rights. |
| | | Franklin, J. H. | <u>From Slavery to Freedom</u> |
| | | Frazier, E. Franklin | <u>Black Bourgeoisie</u> |
| 301.451 | | Frazier, E. Franklin | <u>The Negro in the United States</u>
An extremely well documented and comprehensive sociological account of the American Negro. |
| | MPSS | Friedman, J. | <u>The Civil Rights Reader</u>
Basic documents of the Civil Rights movement |
| 321.1 | | Fuchs, Lawrence H. | <u>Political Behavior of American Jews</u> |
| 301.451 | | Gay, Ruth | <u>Jews in America</u> |
| 371.9 | | Giles, Hermann | <u>Integrated Classroom</u> |
| | pb | Ginzberg, Eli | <u>The Negro Potential</u> |
| | | Ginzberg, Eli | <u>The Negro Challenge to the Business Community</u> |
| 323.1 | | Glazer, Nathan | <u>Beyond the Melting Pot</u>
Suggests the near permanence of ethnic solidarities |
| 309.173 | | Glazer, Nathan | <u>Goals for Americans</u> |
| 331.83 | | Glazer, Nathan | <u>Studies in Housing and Minority Groups</u> |
| 917.3 | | Golden, Harry | <u>Enjoy, Enjoy!</u> |
| 917.3 | | Golden, Harry | <u>Forgotten Pioneer</u> |
| 917.3 | | Golden, Harry | <u>For 2¢ Plain</u> |
| 323.1 | | Golden, Harry | <u>Mr. Kennedy and the Negroes</u> |
| 917.3 | | Golden, Harry | <u>Only in America</u> |
| | MPSS | Goodman, P. | <u>Seeds of Liberation</u> |
| | pb | Goodman, P. | <u>Race Awareness and Young Children</u> |
| 325.2 | | Gordon, Albert | <u>Jews in Suburbia</u>
Many Jews move to the suburbs to escape the restrictions in the cities. This book discusses the problems they escape and those they don't. |

301.45		Gosset, T.	<u>Race: The History of an Idea in America</u>
372.24		Greene, Mary F.	<u>The Schoolchildren</u>
		Greer, E.	<u>Privately Developed Interracial Housing</u>
921	pb	Gregory, Dick	<u>Nigger</u>
	MPSS	Gregory, Dick	<u>The Shadow that Scares Me</u>
301.45	pb	Griffin, John H.	<u>Black Like Me</u>
	MPSS		The account of a writer who through medical treatment changes his appearance to that of a Negro. This is the story of how a "Negro" is treated in some parts of the South today.
323.4		Grimes, A.	<u>Equality in America</u>
	pb	Grodzins, Morton	<u>Metropolitan Area as a Racial Problem</u>
323.4		Handlin, Oscar	<u>American People in the Twentieth Century</u>
325.1		Handlin, Oscar	<u>Children of the Uprooted</u>
301.451		Handlin, Oscar	<u>The Fire Bell in the Night</u>
301.451		Handlin, Oscar	<u>Newcomers: Negroes and Puerto Ricans in A Changing Metropolis</u>
301.45		Handlin, Oscar	<u>Race and Nationality in America</u>
	MPSS	Hansberry, S.	<u>The Movement</u>
			Documentary of a struggle for equality - pictorial
		Hare, N.	<u>Black Anglo-Saxons</u>
	MPSS	Harris, Janet	<u>The Long Freedom Road, The Civil Rights Story</u>
301.451		Harris, Marvin	<u>Patterns of Race in the Americas</u>
323.4		Harris, Robert J.	<u>Quest for Equality</u>
325.2		Hawkins, Hugh, ed.	<u>Booker T. Washington and His Critics</u>
			The problem of Negro leadership
		Hedgeman, A. A.	<u>The Trumpet Sounds</u>
	pb	Heeper, W. H.	<u>The Impending Crisis of the South</u>
			Classic analyzing the forces leading to the Civil War
301.451		Hentoff, N.	<u>The New Equality</u>
			Goals of the freedom movement as well as means. Examines the new political role.
	pb	Herskovits, Melville	<u>The Myth of the Negro Past</u>
		Hickey and Eduin	<u>Adam Clayton Powell and the Politics of Race</u>
325.73		Higham, J.	<u>Strangers in the Land</u>
		Hoffman, N.	<u>Mississippi Notebook</u>
		Holt, Rackam	<u>George Washington Carver</u>
			The biography of the great Negro scientist
323.4		Hook, S.	<u>Paradoxes of Freedom</u>
		Horton, Paul	<u>The Sociology of Social Problems</u>
			This sociology text contains a comprehensive discussion of the minority problem.

326.1		Howard, Warren	<u>American Slaves and the Federal Law</u>
301.451		Hughes, Langston	<u>Fight for Freedom</u>
325.2		Hughes, Langston	<u>Pictorial History of the Negro in America</u> An easy to read, entertaining and informative work.
301.451		Huie, William B.	<u>Three Lives for Mississippi</u>
371.973		Humphrey, Hubert	<u>Integration vs Segregation</u>
	MPSS	Humphrey, Hubert	<u>School Documents, Desegregation and Commentaries</u>
		Hunter, D. R.	<u>The Slums</u>
301.45		Isaacs, Harold R.	<u>The New World of Negro Americans</u> Examines the Negroes identity with respect to both Africa and America
	MPSS	Jacobs, Paul	<u>Prelude to Riot</u> A view of urban America from the bottom.
327.72		James, D.	<u>Mexico and the Americans</u>
		Janowsky, Oscar	<u>The American Jew - A Composite Portrait</u> This volume contains reading which covers the whole spectrum of Jewish life in America
301.45		Javits, Jacob K.	<u>Discrimination - U.S.A.</u> A good general treatment of the minority problem in the U.S., but mainly concerned with housing, education, employment, law and other forms of discrimination.
		Johnson, C. S.	<u>Patterns of Negro Segregation</u>
	pb	Johnson, J. W.	<u>The Autobiography of an Ex-colored Man</u>
301.451		Johnson, Haynes	<u>Dusk at the Mountain</u>
		Johnson, P. A.	<u>Call Me Neighbor, Call Me Friend!</u> Case history of integration of a neighborhood on Chicago's South side.
	pb	Kardiner, Abram	<u>Mark of Oppression</u>
325.73		Kennedy, J.	<u>Nation of Immigrants</u>
		Kennedy, Stetson	<u>Jim Crow Guide to the U.S.A.</u> A clear discussion of the problems of the various minority groups in the United States with some emphasis on discriminatory legislation.
301.451		Killens, John O.	<u>Black Man's Burden</u>
301.45	pb	Killian, Lewis	<u>Racial Crisis in America, Leadership in Conflict</u>
	MPSS	Kilpatrick, J.	<u>Southern Case for School Segregation</u>
371.9		King, Martin Luther	<u>Stride Toward Freedom</u>
323		King, Martin Luther	<u>Where Do We Go From Here?</u>
301.451	MPSS	King, Martin Luther	<u>Why We Can't Wait</u>

- | | | | |
|---------|------------|------------------------------------|---|
| 309.174 | | Klein, W. | <u>Let In The Sun</u> |
| 370.19 | | Knapp, Robert | <u>Social Integration in Urban Communities</u> |
| 323.1 | | Konvitz, Milton R. | <u>Century of Civil Rights</u> |
| | | Kramer, J. & S. Leventman | <u>The Children of the Gilded Ghetto</u>
A study of problems and history of three generations of Jews in the city of Minneapolis, by two sociologists. |
| 970.3 | | Kroeber, T. | <u>Ishi in Two Worlds</u> |
| 370.19 | MPSS | Kvaraceus, W. E., ed. | <u>Negro Self-Contempt: Implications for School and Citizenship</u> |
| | | Kytle, Elizabeth | <u>Willie Mae</u>
The biography of a slave who was emancipated and went on to serve as a servant in many white households. |
| | | Lamer, H. | <u>Poverty - Its Roots and Future</u> |
| | | Laurenti, Luigi | <u>Property Values and Race</u>
Analyzes what really happens to property values when Negroes move into white neighborhoods. |
| 301.451 | pb
MPSS | Lee, Frank F.
Lee, Harper | <u>Negro and White in Connecticut Town To Kill a Mockingbird</u> |
| 323.4 | pb
MPSS | Lewis, Anthony | <u>Portrait of a Decade, The Second American Revolution</u> |
| 323 | | Lewis, Arthur H.
Lieberson | <u>The Aaronsburg Story</u>
<u>Ethnic Patterns in American Cities</u> |
| | pb
MPSS | Lincoln C. Eric | <u>The Black Muslims in America</u>
The story of the militant "Black Supremacy" group in the United States. |
| | MPSS | Lincoln C. Eric | <u>Sounds of the Struggle</u>
A number of chapters on the Black Muslims. |
| 326 | | Logan, Rayford W. | <u>Negro in the United States</u>
The betrayal of the Negro |
| 325.1 | pb
MPSS | Lomax, Louis E.
Lomax, Louis E. | <u>Negro Revolt</u>
<u>When the Word is Given</u>
On the Black Muslims |
| 323.1 | | Lubell, Samuel | <u>White and Black: The Test of a Nation</u> |
| 323.4 | | McClellan, Grant S. | <u>Civil Rights</u> |
| 323.4 | | McCord, W. | <u>Mississippi: The Long Hot Summer</u> |
| | | McEntire, Davis | <u>Residence and Race</u>
An up-to-the-minute study of discrimination and housing. This study was a report to the Commission of Race and Housing. |
| | | MacIver, R. M. | <u>Discrimination and National Welfare</u>
Instead of the usual personal approach to discrimination, the author discusses its effects on the whole society and nation. |

973.7 325.73		McPherson, J. McWilliams, Carey	<u>The Negro's Civil War</u> <u>Brothers Under the Skin</u> This book traces our minority group relations from their origin to 1951. The author draws comparisons between the progress which had been made by 1943 with what had been accomplished by 1951.
	pb MPSS	Malcom X	<u>Autobiography</u>
326.1 301.45		Mannix, Daniel Marrow, Alfred J.	<u>Black Cargoes</u> <u>Changing Patterns of Prejudice</u>
323.4		Marshall, Burke Martin, John B.	<u>Federalism and Civil Rights</u> <u>The Deep South Says Never</u> A vivid account by an author who traveled extensively in the South to study the opposition to integration in the schools
301.45		Mason, Philip	<u>Common Sense About Race</u>
		Meir, August	<u>Negro Thought in America 1880-1915</u>
301.45		Meltzer, Milton, ed.	<u>Their Own Words</u>
	MPSS	Mendelsohn, J.	<u>The Martyrs, Sixteen Who Gave Their Lives for Racial Justice</u>
	pb	Mendelsohn, Wallace	<u>Discrimination</u>
	pb	Mitchell	<u>The Angry Black South</u>
		Moellering, R.	<u>Christian Conscience and Negro Emancipation</u>
		Montagu, Ashley	<u>Man's Most Dangerous Myth---The Fallacy of Race</u> A discussion by a distinguished anthropologist on race, racism and its danger.
325.73		Moon, Bucklin	<u>High Cost of Prejudice</u>
331.67		Moore, T.	<u>Slaves We Rent</u>
323.1		Morgan, C.	<u>A Time to Speak</u>
301.45	pb MPSS	Morris, Willie, ed.	<u>The South Today, 100 Years After Appomattox</u>
371.9		Muse, Benjamin	<u>Ten Years of Prelude</u>
301.45	pb	Myrdal, Gunnar	<u>American Dilemma</u> The most comprehensive study of the Negro, first published in 1944 - still the classic in American Negro studies.
	pb MPSS	National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders	<u>Report</u>
371.98 301.45		National Education Assn. Norris, Hoke Northwood & Barth	<u>Education of Migrant Children</u> <u>We Dissent</u> <u>Urban Desegregation</u>

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|---------------|--------------------|---|--|
| 323.4
296 | pb | Oppenheimer and Lakey
Osofsky, G
Peck, James
Pessin, Deborah
Pettigrew, J. F. | <u>A Manual for Direct Action</u>
<u>Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto</u>
<u>Freedom Ride</u>
<u>History of the Jews in America</u>
<u>A Profile of the Negro American</u> |
| 301 | | Pike, Esther, ed.
Powdermaker, H. | <u>Who Is My Neighbor?</u>
<u>After Freedom: A Cultural Study In</u>
<u>the Deep South</u> |
| 177
301.45 | | Powdermaker, H.
Proudfoot, Merrill
Quarles, B. | <u>Probing Our Prejudices</u>
<u>Diary of a Sit-In</u>
<u>The Negro in the Civil War</u> |
| | MPSS | Quarles, B.
Quigley and Sonagher | <u>The Negro in the Making of America</u>
<u>Conflict, Politics and Freedom</u>
Includes several case studies
on Civil Rights |
| 301.451 | pb
MPSS
MPSS | Raab, E.
Raab and Selznick | <u>American Race Relations Today</u>

<u>Major Social Problems</u>
This sociology text presents an
excellent overview and introduction
to the minority problem. Also
included are adapted readings on
a wide variety of aspects relating
to the problem. |
| 325.2 | | Rand, Christopher | <u>The Puerto Ricans</u> |
| 325.2 | pb
pb | Redding, Jay S.
Redding, Saunders | <u>Lonesome Road</u>
<u>On Being a Negro in America</u>
Fast moving - poignant |
| 323.4 | | Redding, Saunders
Roche, J. B.
Rose, Arnold | <u>They Came In Chains</u>
<u>Quest for the Dream</u>
<u>America Divided</u>
This book is a general survey of
the minority problem and group
relations in the United States |
| | | Rose, A.
Rose, A.
Rose, A. | <u>Minority Problems</u>
<u>The Negro in America</u>
<u>The Negroes' Morale</u>
This book tells how Negroes react
to discrimination and how their
reactions affect their relations
with whites. It also tells how
Negroes feel toward other Negroes
and toward themselves. |
| | | Rose, A. | <u>Race, Prejudice and Discrimination</u>
This book contains an extremely
wide variety of reading on inter-
group relations in the United
States |

301.451	pb	Rossi and Dentler	<u>The Politics of Urban Renewal</u>
	MPSS		
	pb	Ross and Hill	<u>Employment, Race and Poverty</u>
	MPSS		
323		Rowan, Carl T.	<u>South of Freedom</u> The story of minority relations in the South by a Negro newspaper writer who returns to his boyhood home after many years of working in the North.
		Rowan, C and J. Robinson	<u>Wait Till Next Year</u> The life story of Jackie Robinson the first Negro to play in the major leagues.
326		Ruchames, Louis	<u>The Abolitionists</u>
331.1		Ruchames, Louis	<u>Race, Jobs and Politics</u>
	MPSS	Sackett, R.	<u>Plotting a War on Whitey</u> Article, Life Magazine, June 10, 1966
	MPSS	Saenger, G.	<u>The Social Psychology of Prejudice</u> A survey of the problems of prejudice from a social-psychological point of view.
		Scheiner, S. M.	<u>Negro Mecca: A History of the Negro In New York City</u>
325.73		Schermerhorn, Richard	<u>These Our People</u>
301.45		Senior, Clarence	<u>The Puerto Ricans</u>
325.2		Senior, Clarence	<u>Strangers Then Neighbors</u>
301.451		Shapiro, Fred	<u>Race Riots: New York 1964</u>
301.451		Shogan, Robert	<u>The Detroit Race Riot</u>
331.6		Shotwell, Louisa R.	<u>The Harvesters</u>
301.451	pb	Silberman, Charles	<u>Crisis in Black and White</u> Controversial but important
301.45		Silver, James W.	<u>Mississippi: The Closed Society</u>
	MPSS	Simpson and Yinger	<u>Racial and Cultural Minorities</u> An analysis of prejudices and discriminations
301.451		Sloan, I.	<u>American Negro</u>
371.974		Smith, B.	<u>They Closed Their Schools</u>
	pb	Smith, Lillian	<u>Killers of the Dream</u>
	MPSS		
301.451		Smith, Lillian	<u>Our Faces, Our Words</u>
	MPSS	Sobel	<u>Civil Rights 1960-66</u> This book is arranged by year and topics within each year.
301.451		Spangler, Earl	<u>The Negro in Minnesota</u> This book presents an up-to-the-minute description of the life and role of the Negro in Minnesota. It discusses all aspects of Negro life in Minnesota from first arrival to the present day.

		Spike, R. Sprigle, Ray	<u>The Freedom Revolution and the Churches</u> <u>In the Land of Jim Crow</u> What is it like to be a Negro in the South? This book may answer some of your questions. It is the story of a white newspaper man who, disguised as a Negro, traveled through the South.
326		Starkey	<u>Striving to Make It My Home</u>
325.2		Staupers, Mabel	<u>No Time For Prejudice</u>
325.73		Stegner, Wallace	<u>One Nation</u> A fascinating illustrated account of race and minority problems in the United States
323.4	MPSS	Sterne, Emma	<u>I Have a Dream</u>
	MPSS	Stone, C.	<u>Tell It Like It Is</u>
301.45		Suchman, Edward	<u>Desegregation</u>
370.193		Sullivan, Neil	<u>Bound for Freedom</u>
301.451	MPSS	Sutherland, E.	<u>Letters from Mississippi</u>
325.2		Swift, Hildegard	<u>North Star Shining</u>
		Taeuber, K.	<u>Negroes in Cities</u>
	pb	Tannenbaum, F.	<u>Slave and Citizen</u>
325.2		Thomas, Dorothy S.	<u>Spoilage</u> Japanese-American evacuation and resettlement.
	pb	Thompson, D. C.	<u>The Negro Leadership Class</u>
301.451		Thompson, E. B.	<u>White on Black</u>
		Thurman, H.	<u>The Luminous Darkness</u>
301.451		Tillman, J.	<u>Not By Prayer Done</u>
371.974		Trillin, Calvin	<u>An Education in Georgia</u>
331.83		Tyler, Poyntz, ed.	<u>City and Suburban Housing</u>
323.4		U.S. Commission on Civil Rights	<u>Civil Rights '63</u>
371.974		" " "	<u>Education</u>
331.63		" " "	<u>Employment</u>
323.4		" " "	<u>Justice</u>
324.1		" " "	<u>Voting</u>
	MPSS	U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Statistics	<u>The Negro in the U.S., Their Economic and Social Situation</u>
325.2		Wakefield, Dan	<u>Island in the City</u>
301.451		Wakin, E.	<u>At The Edge Of Harlem</u>
		Walker, David	<u>David Walker's Appeal</u> The classic revolutionary statement of the Negro mood in the slave era.

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|---------|------|--|---|
| 325.2 | pb | Warren, Robert Penn | <u>Segregation: The Inner Conflict In The South</u>
An account of segregation and race relations in the South, based on interviews while on a trip to the South by Warren, a famous writer and poet. |
| 301.451 | pb | Warren, R.
Washington, B. T.
Washington, J. R. | <u>Who Speaks Up For The Negro Up From Slavery</u>
<u>Black Religion</u>
<u>Climbing Jacob's Ladder</u>
The arrival of Negroes in Southern politics |
| | MPSS | Watters & Cleghorn | |
| 301.451 | | Weston, A.
White, Walter | <u>Freedom Now</u>
<u>A Man Called White</u>
White-skinned, blue-eyed, blond-haired, Walter C. White was a Negro, for many years the national secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Though he might easily have passed over the color line he elected to stay with his race and fight for his people's rights. |
| 325.2 | | White, Walter F. | <u>How Far the Promised Land</u> |
| 325.2 | | White, William L. | <u>Lost Boundaries</u> |
| 301.45 | | William, R. N. | <u>Strangers Next Door</u> |
| 301.451 | MPSS | Williams, John
Williamson, S. W. | <u>This is My Country Too</u>
<u>With Grief Acquainted</u>
Pictorial |
| 301.45 | | Wilner, Daniel M.
Wilson, J. Q. | <u>Human Relations in Interracial Housing</u>
<u>Amateur Democrat</u> |
| | MPSS | Wilson, J. Q. | <u>Negro Politics, The Search For Leadership</u> |
| 301.452 | | Wilson and Banfield
Wirth, L | <u>City Politics</u>
<u>The Ghetto</u> |
| 301.45 | pb | Woodward, Comer V. | <u>The Strange Career of Jim Crow</u> |
| 333.67 | | Wright, D. | <u>They Harvest Despair</u> |
| | pb | Wright, Richard | <u>Black Boy</u>
What is it like to grow up a Southern Negro? This famous autobiography gives you some answers. |
| | MPSS | | |
| | MPSS | Wright, Richard
Wright, Richard | <u>Native Son</u>
<u>Twelve Million Black Voices</u>
An interesting folk history of the Negro in the U.S. by a great Negro writer. |

Ref. 301.45	pb	Wright, Richard Year	<u>White Man, Listen</u> <u>Year's Pictorial History of the</u> <u>American Negro</u>
	MPSS	Young, Whitney Zinn, H. Zinn, H.	<u>To Be Equal</u> <u>SNCC, The New Abolitionists</u> <u>The Southern Mystique</u>

PAMPHLETS

General

The ABC's of Scapegoating. Allport, Gordon, editor. Central Y.M.C.A. College, 1943

Definition and Classification of Minorities. United Nations, 1950

Fear and Prejudice. Public Affairs Pamphlet #245, 1957

Human Rights - World Declaration and American Practice. Public Affairs Pamphlet #167, 1950

The Main Types and Causes Of Discrimination. United Nations, 1949

Minorities in the United States. Leonard and Irwin. Oxford Social Studies Pamphlet #4, 1951

Prejudice - How To Recognize It. Johnson, Willard. Personal Growth Leaflet #150

The Races of Mankind. Benedict, R. Public Affairs Committee, 1943

These Rights Are Ours To Keep. Public Affairs Pamphlet #140, 1948

Why Race Riots? Brown, Earl. Public Affairs Pamphlet #87, 1943

Specific Groups

Facts About Japanese-Americans. American Council of Racial Problems, 1946

The Indian in Minnesota. Governor's Interracial Commission, 1952

Intelligence of the American Negro. B'Nai B'rith, 1945

The Negro and His Home In Minnesota. Minnesota Interracial Commission Report, 1947

The Negro Workers Progress in Minnesota. Minnesota Interracial Commission Report, 1949

The Oriental in Minnesota. Governor's Interracial Commission, 1949

Pamphlets (American Indians)

Pamphlets (Negroes)

What About Our Japanese-Americans? Public Affairs Committee, 1944

Jews

American's All. B'Nai B'rith, 1943

Answering Your Questions About Jews and Judaism. Brickner, Rabbi B. R.,
Reprinted from Congregational Christian Journal Advance,
October 19, 1955

The Story of Religions In America; The Jews. Spence, Hartzell. Reprinted
from Look Magazine, May 13, 1958 issue

Education

Africa and The World Today. Foreign Relations Series, 1960

Africa - New Crisis in the Making. Headline Series #91, 1952

Africa - Worlds Last Frontier. Headline Series #135, 1959

Discrimination In Higher Education. American Council of Education Studies,
1951

A Guide To School Integration. Public Affairs Pamphlet #255, 1957

Pamphlets (World Areas)

South Africa. Headline Series #109, 1955

Southeast Asia and American Policy. Foreign Relations Series, 1959

Southerners and Schools. Fuller, Helen. Reprinted from The New Republic,
1960

What's Happening In School Integration? Public Affairs Pamphlet #244, 1956

BIOGRAPHIES

921 An23	Anderson, Marion	<u>My Lord, What A Morning</u>
921 B31	Bates, Daisy	<u>Long Shadow Of Little Rock</u>
921 D295	Davis, S.	<u>Yes, I Can</u>
921 G357	Gibson, Althea	<u>I Always Wanted To Be Somebody</u>
921 H330	Helm, MacKinley	<u>Angel Mo' and Her Son</u>
920 Hu	Hughes, Langston	<u>Famous Negro Heroes Of America</u>
921 L976	Luthuli, Albert	<u>Let My People Go</u>
921 L976	Mays, W.	<u>Willie Mays</u>
921 M73	Modisane, B.	<u>Blame Me On History</u>
921 P23	Parks, Gordon	<u>A Choice Of Weapons</u>
921 B464	Peare, Catherine	<u>Mary McLeod Bethune</u>
921 R561	Rowan, C.	<u>Wait Till Next Year</u> (Jackie Robinson)
921 Sm51	Smith, F.	<u>Congressman From Mississippi</u>
921 B464	Sterne, Emma	<u>Mary McLeod Bethune</u>
921 W681	Wills, M.	<u>It Pays To Steal</u>

NEGRO FICTION AND POETRY

In the literary field, Langston Hughes remains the only important figure still producing from the "Negro Renaissance" of the 1920's. Countee Cullen, Claude McKay and James Weldon Johnson are dead.

A significant poet prior to the Renaissance was Paul Lawrence Dunbar.

In the period between Renaissance and the present, the towering figure was Richard Wright. Indeed, if he has been surpassed as novelist and essayist, it is only by Ralph Ellison and possibly James Baldwin.

Significant writers now publishing include:

Langston Hughes (The dean of American Negro writers.) His latest books are:

Big Sea
Ask Your Mama
Five Plays
Something In Common
The Langston Hughes Reader

His plays include:

Tambourines To Glory
Black Nativity
Simply Heavenly

John O. Killings, one of the most promising younger novelist, is author of:

Youngblood
And Then We Heard The Thunder
Black Man's Burden (to be published soon)

Leroi Jones, a controversial playwright and poet, has published two volumes of poems:

The Dead Lecturer
Preface to a 20 Volume Suicide Note

He is also author of a book of criticism:

The Blues People

Three of his best known plays produced off-Broadway are:

The Slave
Dutchman
The Toilet

Saunders Redding has written several books. Two of the best are:

Stranger and Alone (a novel)
On Being Negro In America (a prize autobiography)

Melvin B. Tolson, probably the greatest living poet now writing in the English language. His classic works are:

Libretto
Harlem Gallery

James Baldwin is the most feted Negro author. His books include:

Go Tell It On The Mountain
Nobody Knows My Name
Another Country
Giovanni's Room
The Fire Next Time

Gwendolyn Brooks, one of America's greatest poets and winner of a Pulitzer Prize for poetry, is the author of five volumes of poetry:

Annie Allen
A Street In Bronzeville
The Bean Eaters
Bronzeville Boys and Girls
Selected Poems

Ellison, R.

The Invisible Man (generally acclaimed as the most significant novel of the last 25 years)

Fiction

Hobson, Laura Z.

Gentlemen's Agreement

Philip Green, a young magazine writer is commissioned to do a series about anti-Semitism. His method is to pose as a Jew and to record his experiences for eight weeks.

LaFarge, Oliver

Laughing Boy

A searching novel of the problems of the modern Navajo Indian in the Southwest. The conflicts between the way of life of the white and of the Navajo and the unfair treatment of the Indian by the white are vividly brought out in this book.

Lewis, Sinclair

Kingsblood Royal

A search for a royal ancestor in the family tree of a socially elite family in a fictitious Minnesota town turns up a Negro ancestor instead. The effect on the status of the family and the lives of its members is all too "probable" to permit the reader much comfort.

Miller, Arthur

Focus

By a strange quirk, Newman is identified by his co-workers and neighbors as a Jew; consequently, his entire life is changed.

Wheeler, Keith

Peaceable Lane

What happens when a Negro family moves into a previously white neighborhood? This book tells what measures the white people in the neighborhood use to keep the Negro family out and what happens as a result of it.

Also consult the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature and the Pamphlet File under the following headings:

Anti-Semitism
Chinese in the United States
Civil Rights - Laws and Regulations
Civil Rights Act of 1964, 1965
Colleges and Universities - Desegregation
Colleges and Universities - Discrimination

Discrimination
Discrimination in Education
Discrimination in Employment
Discrimination in Housing
Equality
Japanese in the United States

Jews
Jews in the United States
Mexicans in the United States
Migrant Labor
Migrant Labor - Minnesota
Minorities

Negroes
Negroes - Minnesota
Negroes in the United States
Negroes in the United States - Civil Rights
Negroes in the United States - Economic Conditions
Negroes in the United States - Education

Negroes in the United States - Employment
Negroes in the United States - Housing
Negroes in the United States - Migration
Negroes in the United States - Politics and Suffrage
Negroes in the United States - Segregation
Negroes in the United States - Segregation, Resistance to

Negroes in the United States - Social Conditions
Prejudice
Prejudices and Antipathies
Public Schools - Desegregation
Puerto Ricans in the United States
Race Discrimination

Race Prejudice
Race Problems
Race Relations
Segregation in Education
Trade Unions - Negro Membership
United States - Race Problems

United States - Race Relations

UNIT II

SOCIAL PATHOLOGY

UNIT II - SOCIAL PATHOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

This unit focuses upon the causes of deviant behavior in society today. In its broadest scope the unit includes all elements of social psychology related to the causes of deviant behavior.

Major emphasis in the unit is upon crime and delinquency though activities could be extended to include study of sexual deviation, mental illness and deficiency, alcoholism, drug addiction, suicide, abortion, prostitution and other social problems. The bibliography at the end of the unit does include all of these areas.

Basic emphasis is upon the development of the sociological framework for the study of social pathology. Efforts have been made to identify activities which are based upon inductive techniques and materials identified may be found in the two high schools and the Instructional Materials Center.

UNIT II - SOCIAL PATHOLOGY

OBJECTIVES

A. Generalizations

1. Man is a social animal who lives in groups.
2. Society results from communication and interaction.
3. Man learns approved behavior through socialization.
4. If a society is to be maintained, people must internalize the values and behaviors of the society. The interdependence of groups serves as a bond.
5. A social problem exists when there is a conflict between the expectations of the individual and society that is considered by society to be a threat to itself.
6. The consequences of this conflict affect both the individual and society.
7. Social problems represent the social cost of any system.
8. Social problems have many causes.
9. Inability of the individual to achieve a society's goals through approved means leads to deviant behavior.
10. A strong influence toward deviant behavior is the opportunity to learn from and to be psychologically rewarded by the deviant group.
11. Deviancy is usually the result of a conscious long-term process involving much self-debate.
12. One kind of deviant behavior tends to lead to another.
13. It is desirable and possible to work towards the reduction of deviancy, both through prevention and rehabilitation.
14. Solutions to social problems involve effecting changes in society and/or the individual.

B. Skills

1. Attacks problems in a rational manner.
2. Locates information efficiently.
3. Gathers information effectively.
4. Evaluates information and sources of information.
5. Organizes and analyzes information and draws conclusions.
6. Works well with others.

C. Attitudes

1. Values the scientific method and rational thought as applied to social as well as to natural data.
2. Is committed to the free examination of social attitudes and data.
3. Respects evidence even when it contradicts prejudices and preconceptions.
4. Is sceptical of the finality of knowledge, and demands that popular notions be judged in accordance with standards of empirical validation.
5. Believes that the social sciences can contribute to men's welfare by providing information and explanatory generalizations which help them achieve their goals.

6. Is sceptical of theories of single causation in the social sciences.
7. Is sceptical of panaceas.
8. Feels a sense of responsibility for keeping informed about current problems.
9. Believes in the possibilities of improving social conditions.
10. Has a sense of responsibility for taking informed action about problems confronting the nation.
11. Values human dignity.
12. Evaluates proposals and events on the basis of their effects upon individuals as human beings.

UNIT II - SOCIAL PATHOLOGY

GENERALIZATIONS

1. Man is a social animal who lives in groups.
2. Society results from communication and interaction.
3. Man learns approved behavior through socialization.
4. If a society is to be maintained, people must internalize the values and behaviors of the society. The interdependence of groups serves as a bond.

ACTIVITIES

1. Using textbook materials as background in social values, norms, sanctions, socialization, culture, etc. Use of many textbook ideas to reinforce these ideas.
2. To illustrate our social group living have students make a chart as to the social groups that influence them most in order of their influence. Indicate whether each group is largely recreational, religious, vocational, familial, or other. State why they place each group as they did.
3. Read in an encyclopedia about one of the following people. Explain how they were or were not influenced by the group.
 - a. Neanderthal man, aborigines (bushmen)
 - b. Cro-magnon man
 - c. Australian
 - d. Eskimos
4. Use projects 3, 4, 5, and 12 suggested in Quinn, Living in Social Groups, to illustrate; values, social norms, social sanctions, and social processes (forms or social interaction.)
5. For a lively experiment, choose someone to leave the room. Another student is selected to stand at the front of the room. The other person comes in the room and they greet each other like old friends. Repeat several times.

RESOURCES

Horton & Hunt, Sociology, Chs. 3-6; also related chs. 8,9,11,12,13,14

Landis, Sociology, 1958 Chs. 1-11

Landis, Sociology, 1964 Chs. 2, 4-7

Quinn, Living in Social Groups, Chs 1-3

Ask the class to observe their action very carefully. One thing that will be obvious is that when people greet each other they will be an arm's length apart. This is a characteristic of our culture. It will be shown best if someone from another culture can be used in the experiment.

6. To illustrate different values of various cultures have students read about some other culture. Then have them describe briefly ten or more aspects of the culture using topics in Murdock's Cross-Cultural Index (Landis, Sociology, 1964, p. 42)

7. To illustrate different cultural values have students each choose one of the items in the Cross-Cultural Index for special research. Summarize some major differences in a variety of cultures.

8. Show films to illustrate various cultures and their differing values and practices.

"Four Families" Pt. 1 and 2
(India, France, Japan and Canada) U of M, 60 min.

"Sum and Substance Series"
Margaret Mead; U of M, 30 min.

"Polynesian Culture",
U of M, 20 min.

5. A social problem exists when there is a conflict between the expectations of the individual and society to be considered by society to be a threat to itself.

6. The consequences of this conflict affect both the individual and society.

7. Social problems represent the social cost of any system.

1. To show extent of concern over social problems or a specific area have students analyze the front page of a daily newspaper to determine the percentage of space given to these topics.

2. Have a student or group keep record of the amount of crime or juvenile delinquency over a given period of time. Give report to class as to the extent in your area. For more extended areas all forms of mass media could be used to gather information.

Use Reader's Guide materials, also T.V. news and specials and local newspapers.

GENERALIZATIONS

ACTIVITIES

3. Legal and social definitions of crime and/or delinquency could be formed by the class before and after some textbook reading or informal lecture by the teacher.
4. Secure records of law enforcement, judicial and correctional agencies, to determine extent, distribution and trends of delinquency problems.
5. Show projected materials that give some statistics of crime rates or juvenile delinquency rates, etc.
6. Anonymous questionnaire could be administered to class or school to obtain data about distribution and correlates of delinquency.
7. Speakers could be used to show extent of crime in area. Bloomington police officer, FBI agent, private detective, etc.
8. Report from group or individual from enriched reading on the extent of the problem.

RESOURCES

- Landis, Social Living, pp. 185-6
- Landis, Sociology, p 240
- Bloomington Police Department, Annual Report
- Minneapolis, Hennepin County, and State of Minnesota reports
- National information:
Information Please, 1967
World Almanac, 1967
Uniform Crime Report of the FBI
 Childrens Bureau, Statistical Series of the H.E.W. Dept.

- Salisbury, The Shook-Up Generation
- Fyvel, Troublemakers
- Hechinger, Teen-Age Tyranny

GENERALIZATIONS

ACTIVITIES

RESOURCES

9. Films that could be shown to give the extent of the problem will most often include information on causes and treatment.

Films:

- "True Criminal" U of M, 30 min.
- "Cities-Crime In the Streets" 60 min.
- "Juvenile Delinquency-The Search"
- "Crime In a Changing City" U of Indiana
- "The Delinquents - A Boy Named Bob"

8. Social problems have many causes.
9. Inability of the individual to achieve society's goal through approved means leads to deviant behavior.
10. A strong influence toward deviant behavior is the opportunity to learn from and to be psychologically rewarded by the deviant group.
11. Deviancy is usually the result of a conscious long-term process involving much self-debate.
12. One kind of deviant behavior leads to another.
1. After the class has reviewed the extent of crime and juvenile delinquency and the effects upon society by means of class discussion, list what they think to be the major causes of this type of behavior. The teacher could then group these ideas into the following categories; a) family, b) school, c) courts, d) institutions, and e) community. The class could then be divided into these groups to research these areas in relation to causes, prevention, and treatment. Urge the groups to use some form of presentation other than a panel or symposium. They might role-play, use bulletin board materials or displays which they can explain to the class. They might prepare written materials of various kinds. They might combine a presentation of their own with a presentation by a speaker from the group investigated. In this case they should prepare the class for the speaker and develop a series of questions to ask him.
2. Committees could be divided into the following topics instead of those suggested in 1 above: a) causes of crime, b) prevention of crime, c) juvenile delinquency, d) organizations and purposes of prison systems, and e) system of probation and parole.

3. Bulletin board display showing the relation of neighborhood to juvenile delinquency. On white paper draw Twin Cities area. Draw in major street and highways. Using newspaper stories, locate the neighborhoods of juvenile offenders. By the end of the unit it should be possible to draw some conclusions about the relationship between juvenile delinquency and socio-economic areas.
4. Some authorities on juvenile delinquency place part of the blame on comic books. Select one student to sample several comic books and analyze the themes and values they incorporate. Report to the class.
5. Select one student to sample TV programs on one night to keep track of the number of killings, beatings and robberies that occur. Have him put the results in a written paper and his opinion as to whether or not TV contributes to juvenile delinquency.
6. Socio-drama: Select one of the following and act out a scene showing how a teenager might be drawn into delinquent behavior.
 - a. Scene between 16 year old girl and her parents who never permit her to go out with her school crowd
 - b. Thirteen year old boy who is competing for leadership of the neighborhood gang
 - c. A school situation, perhaps of failure or frustration.
7. Use of case studies; have groups act out what they feel to be the reasons for the behavior. Each group could be given a case to analyze and determine causes of behavior.

Gran, Why Children Become Delinquent, Ch 2

GENERALIZATIONS

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8. Teacher by informal lecture could describe several theories as to causes of criminal behavior. Also could be used to connect the reports of the groups. Such theories could include; physical, psychological, sociological.

9. Use of tape by Judge Gilliam to illustrate causes of behavior that results in court appearances.

13. It is desirable and possible to work towards the reduction of deviancy, both through prevention and rehabilitation.

14. Solutions to social problems involve effecting changes in society and/or the individual.

1. Reports on individual or group enrichment reading concerning prevention and treatment.

2. Study experiments now being made to improve slum districts and discuss in relation to prevention of crime and delinquency.

3. List character-building influences and organizations in the community in the order of their importance in contributing to the individual's development.

4. Have the report from the group dealing with the Family on the causes and treatment.

5. Have the group dealing with the School give their report.

6. Have the group dealing with the Courts give their report. This would be a good opportunity to have a judge come and speak as part of their report. The class might be asked to re-enact a court scene, given a particular class to illustrate the court procedure.

Martin & Fitzpatrick, Delinquent Behavior

Sutherland & Cressey, Principles of Criminology

Weinberg, Social Problems In Our Times, pp 3-93

Sands, My Shadow Ran Fast, The Seventh Step

Tunley, Kids, Crime and Chaos: A World Report on Juvenile Delinquency

Family Treatment Center of Hennepin County

Hennepin County Courts

Hanna, Teenagers and the Law

Parker, O'Neil, Civil Liberties: Case Studies and the Law, p 20

GENERALIZATIONS

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7. Have the group dealing with Institutions give their report. Speakers from local institutions would be useful to give their methods of treatment.
8. Group dealing with the Community give their report. Invite representatives of programs in the community for their methods of prevention and treatment.

9. Panel or symposium that together would relate their viewpoints as to the best ways to deal with persons that have to be involved in some form of illegal behavior. Could include; minister, police officer, prison official, probation officer, social worker, counselor, school principal, teacher, etc.

10. Minister that would identify well with youth could relate moral and religious values to causes, prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquents or criminals.

11. Have the panel on Ex-convicts give a presentation as to the best way to stay out of trouble with the law, and answer questions from the class.

12. By debate or general discussion, or mock trial, use the Gaul Case to illustrate how the juvenile delinquent now has the right to a trial by jury and how it will influence treatment of the juvenile delinquent in U.S. courts.

RESOURCES

Family Treatment Center of
Hennepin County

State Department of Corrections

Big Brothers

City Police

Churches

Youth Organizations

GENERALIZATIONS

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RESOURCES

13. Debate the following topic: "Resolved - Capital Punishment is the Best Way to Deal With Hardened Criminals."

The class could be set up as teams to collect as much material as they can. After the debate is concluded have the class reach a decision as to the means of treatment they feel most beneficial to society based upon the material presented.

14. Present the following problem to the class: You are a group of expert sociologists who have been hired for the prevention of juvenile delinquency. Where would you begin and how would you develop the program? Groups could be organized to work out the solutions.

15. To evaluate how well the class understands juvenile delinquency, read a case of a juvenile delinquent. Have each student write what form of treatment they would prescribe for this delinquent.

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ADVICE FROM A MASTER BURGLAR

As crime statistics show a rapid rise in burglaries all over the U.S., there is urgent interest in safeguards. Some timely advice on steps you can take to thwart house-breakers is given by a master burglar, presently behind bars, who knows all the tricks of the trade.

How can you protect your home from burglars?

As housebreaking keeps increasing along with other kinds of crime, that question is one of mounting concern.

Now you get answers from an expert - one of the country's most experienced burglars. He is Robert Earl Barnes, 35, who, by his own estimate, has committed 3,000 burglaries.

This master criminal, who is serving a 15-year prison term in Maryland, is the author of a booklet entitled "How Safe Is Your House From Burglars?"

The booklet, crammed with tips on how to thwart burglars, was published as a series of articles in "The Washington Evening Star," illustrated by the author's own drawings of several anti-burglar devices.

What was Barnes's motive? For one thing, he says, he hopes that when he is free he can go into business "and make as much money protecting homes as I did burglarizing them." That would be quite a stake. The 300 burglaries in Maryland and Washington, D.C., that Barnes has admitted involved property worth 2 million dollars.

It is Barnes's contention that 40 per cent of all burglaries - and the total in the U.S. runs at more than a million a year - occur because the victims are careless. For example, he says: "Mail, papers, uncut grass, unheated homes or homes with the air conditioning turned off in the summer months invite the burglar into your home, just as a vacant garage will do, or a small light left on inside the house while the remaining portion is left in complete darkness."

Other "invitations" for thieves include keys left beneath door mats, in mail-boxes, above door or window ledges, or in flower pots, Barnes points out.

First: Good Locks

Home security, the veteran craftsman of crime emphasizes, should begin with good locks. Barnes advises installation of bolt-type locking mechanisms on front, basement, side and rear doors.

Locks with "wedged" type bolting action offer scant protection against even the novice burglar, he says. Cylinder-type locks are similarly easy to solve, according to the expert, who maintains: "The square double-action locking mechanism will make your property secure against the average burglar. This type of lock must be forced or picked and cannot be 'loided' - opened with a piece of celluloid."

For apartment dwellers, Barnes has this warning: "Apartment doors which have the key-doorknob type locks should be replaced. This lock can be opened by twisting the door-knob to the left, which destroys the cheap locking mechanism. It can also be opened by

inserting a small screwdriver into the keyhole and twisting it to the left or right."

A piece of celluloid, a credit card or a small strip of venetian blind can be used to open key-doorknob locks, the convict says.

"Skeleton"-type locks, normally used on basement doors, should be replaced, Barnes cautions, because they can be opened not only with any "skeleton" key, but with a hair-pin or a paper clip.

What Kind of Doors?

Some advice on doors: front and rear doors which have glasspanel fronts should be changed to those with plastic, much harder to break. The "two-piece" or Dutch door often installed in kitchens and basements affords poor protection because it cannot be securely locked at the top, middle or bottom.

Most doors open inward, but the homeowner could feel more secure if hinges were changed so that the door opened outward, making it impossible for an intruder to kick it in.

Chain locks are especially recommended by burglar Barnes for apartment houses and for bedroom doors.

A burglar alarm recommended by the ex-housebreaker costs about \$4. It is powered by flashlight batteries. This alarm ordinarily is attached to windows. When a window is disturbed even slightly, the alarm goes off with a loud clang, and even the sight of such a device will make a thief hesitate, Barnes asserts.

Tips from an Expert

Here are some basic precautions urged by the skilled thief:

- don't leave valuables in dresser drawers of the master bedroom. That is the first place a burglar searches.
- if you advertise valuables for sale, don't give your exact address. Burglars are constant readers of want ads, seeking leads to rich hauls.
- be wary of any stranger who knocks at your door. He may be a burglar "casing" your home.
- if there is a death in the family, ask a friend or neighbor to remain at your house or apartment while the family attend funeral services. Burglars read obituary notices for tips on times when there may be nobody home.
- "if you have the type of mailbox that hangs outside your home, have it replaced with the slot-type inside the door, so that your mail falls concealed inside your house. More homes are burglarized by the 'mail watchers' than any other method employed by burglars."

Going Away?

When you leave home, says Barnes, the best protection you can have without paying for it is to create uncertainty as to whether the place is vacant. How to do this? Noise.

Barnes's suggestion: "The best device is to use a small radio. When leaving your home for a shopping trip or an evening out, just turn your radio on so that it can be heard by anyone standing near your front or rear door."

This, says the "old pro," is far better than leaving a lot of lights on, "as a light may attract a burglar, and noise almost always keeps him away."

More basic rules to follow: Make certain that garage doors are closed and locked when you leave, for "if a burglar drives past your home and sees a vacant garage, he will automatically investigate."

Leave blinds partly open. Don't give the home a "closed down" appearance.

Halt all home deliveries if you are to be absent for any length of time. You should never allow milk, newspapers or mail to accumulate.

Never leave notes tacked on your door saying that you are away and will return by such-and-such a time.

When going on vacation in hot weather - "Never turn off your air conditioner, as this is one method employed by the housebreaker in determining if anyone is inside the dwelling. The average burglar comprehends that any time during the hot, humid months that he can discover a home with air conditioners turned off, the odds are great the home is vacant. The same applies for window fans and such."

A wintertime tip: If it has snowed and you are leaving for work, make certain that footprints leading away from the house are not the only ones visible. It only takes a few minutes to make it appear that there has been foot traffic in both directions. This also applies to tire tracks leading from the garage. Back the car a few times.

6 Types of Burglars

Barnes says the burglary "profession" breaks down into six categories: daytime burglar, nighttime burglar, business-establishment burglar, residential burglar, "cat" burglar, apartment-house burglar. Some of his comments, category by category:

Daytime burglar. This one normally strikes between the hours of 9:30 a.m. and 3 p.m. He studies mail and other deliveries to determine whether the house is unattended.

Nighttime burglar. Usual operating hours are between 7 p.m. and midnight. These hours are chosen because the criminal can scrutinize the home before 7 o'clock, watch the occupants leave, and take a chance that they will not be home before midnight.

Business-establishment burglar. This one usually enters the premises around closing time or on week-ends. Skylights are a favorite method of entry. Some of these criminals, to avoid an alarm system, enter by chopping a hole in the wall. Loot often is hauled away in a rented truck and stored for several days until it is sold to a "fence."

Residential burglar. More often than not, this thief has accurate knowledge of the family and its habits, based on careful observation. After entering a house, the first thing the burglar does is to make certain of an exit. Barnes comments: "If you arrive home and discover that you have been the victim of a housebreaker, never touch anything until the police have conducted a search for physical evidence. A piece of paper lying on the floor may seem like nothing to you, but it could lead to a clue to the burglar's identity."

"Cat" burglar. Barnes describes this invader as "the most dangerous type . . ." - the sneak thief who will enter a home when it is occupied and who often is mentally ill and unpredictable. Barnes warns: "If confronted by him while in bed, pretend to be asleep, and he will probably take your wallet and what jewels he can find and leave." "Cat" burglars usually operate between 1 a.m. and 6 a.m. when victims are presumed to be asleep.

Apartment-house burglar. This type often roams the corridors of apartment buildings, posing as a salesman, knocking on doors until he receives no reply. Or he peers into lobby mailboxes to see which tenants have not picked up their mail. Or he looks at a name plate on a door, checks the telephone directory for the number, dials it, lets it ring until he returns to the apartment, and, if it is still ringing, he knows that no one is at home. At night, he sometimes chooses victims by observing apartments in which no lights are showing at a time when others are lighted.

Don't Risk Harm

Barnes stresses these points to remember from the vital standpoint of avoiding harm to your person:

- if you return home and discover a burglar, don't attempt to overpower him. "If you can identify him later, he will be convicted, and you won't have to take the chance of getting hurt."
- "professional burglars seldom carry guns. They have invaded your home for your valuables, not to personally molest you. They want to avoid having any contact with anyone."
- "if you arrive home and notice that your door has been tampered with, don't enter. Go to your nearest neighbor's house and phone the police. This way the burglar may be apprehended inside your home."

Gadgets to Get

Besides the \$4 window-type burglar alarm described earlier, Barnes calls attention to some other protective gadgets, such as: An "electric eye" which can be screwed into any standard light socket and will turn on automatically at dusk and off at dawn. It is weather resistant and can be used for outside lighting. Cost is about \$6.

An electric timer, priced about \$14., which controls lights by turning them on and off at preset times.

An alarm system tied in with the services of private security agencies, which are numbering more and more home-owners among their clients. This system consists of tiny silver wires interwoven on glass of windows or doors. When the glass is broken, a red light flashes in the agency's office. The device also can be installed on a safe.

A Word on Safes

Barnes makes the point that safes are seldom foolproof. Most of them, he says, are vulnerable to experienced burglars.

The best safe, according to Barnes, is one made of thick laminated steel - a "round-door" type, which a criminal would have to burn open with an acetylene torch. On most square-door safes, the burglary authority says, the bottom is the weakest point, and when the safe is turned upside down a hole can be chopped in the bottom.

The round-door type, as Barnes describes it, is "actually a safe imbedded within concrete, and installed within another safe."

Barnes makes no claim that taking his advice will guarantee immunity against burglary. A highly skilled and determined burglar, he says, can often succeed in victimizing even the most vigilant homeowner.

The master burglar sums up his theory this way. "Some of the things I have written should be known to almost everyone, but there may be a few things that the average homeowner is not aware of, and small mistakes he makes that, if he became aware of them, he might not make again."

GENETICS OF CHROMOSOMES AND CRIME

A microscopic piece of genetic material known as the Y chromosome made headlines last week. It is nothing new or rare: every man has one in practically every cell, or he would not be a man. But a few men have two. Richard Speck is said to be one such; his attorneys are now preparing an appeal against his death sentence for the 1966 slaying of eight nurses in Chicago. Another is Daniel Hugon, awaiting trial in Paris on a charge of having murdered a prostitute. His lawyers contend that he is mentally unfit to stand trial because of his chromosomal abnormality, and the Paris court has appointed a panel of experts, including both a psychiatrist and one of the world's most brilliant geneticists, Dr. Jerome Lejeune, to advise it.

The theory that a genetic abnormality may predispose a man to antisocial behavior, including crimes of violence, is deceptively and attractively simple, but will be difficult to prove. The argument in its favor rests upon the fact that in a few prisons sampled in the U.S., Britain and Australia, the proportion of inmates with an extra Y chromosome has been found to be higher than in the general population. The objections to the theory are that no one knows the true incidence of the extra-Y abnormality, and that even when it is shown to exist, no one knows how the second Y can influence personality, let alone criminality.

Supermale? Nature intended every man and woman to have 46 chromosomes per cell: 22 pairs of autosomes, which determine countless characteristics other than sex, and two gonosomes or sex chromosomes. In the female, these are a pair of Xs; in the male, an X and a Y. When a sperm fertilizes an ovum, each supplies half the 46 chromosomes for the combination of cells that will grow into a baby. If the sperm contains an X chromosome, the baby gets that X plus one from the mother, and will be an XX girl. If the sperm contains a Y chromosome, the baby gets that plus an X from the mother; the potent male Y overpowers the single X, and it's a boy - normally, XY.

But sometimes, when the first cells are dividing and both lines of chromosomes are supposed to make duplicates of themselves, nature slips up. Instead of splitting them into two neat rows of 23 each, it leaves an extra X or Y in one row. If the supernumerary is an X, the baby has an XXY pattern and will grow into a sterile, asthenic "male," usually with some breast enlargement and mental retardation - a condition that physicians call Klinefelter's syndrome. This has been recognized since 1959. Despite the factor of low intelligence, it has not been linked with criminality.

If the extra chromosome is a Y, the baby gets an XYY pattern and is unquestionably male. Or, as evidence gathered by an all-woman team of researchers in Scotland now suggests, he may be a supermale, overaggressive and potentially criminal. Dr. Patricia A. Jacobs and her colleagues working at Western General Hospital in Edinburgh knew that a number of mentally defective men with a double dose of both sex chromosomes, or XXYY, had been found in Swedish and English institutions as criminals or hard-to-manage inmates. (Chromosome patterns or "karyotypes" are usually made by taking white blood cells, growing them in the laboratory and dousing them with a weak salt solution. This explodes the cells, separating the chromosomes. These are stained, spread on a slide and photographed. From an enlargement, pairs of chromosomes are laboriously cut out, paper-doll fashion, lined up by size and shape in seven groups, and numbered from one to 22. X and Y are usually placed at the head.) This made the researchers wonder whether it was the extra Y that predisposed the men to aggression. They decided to check on simpler XYY cases, previously seldom reported.

Among 197 inmates at Carstairs State Hospital, they have found no fewer than seven XYY men, or 3.5% (as well as one XXYY). This, they estimated, was 50 to 60 times the normal incidence. To check this estimate, the Edinburgh investigators examined 266 newborn boys and 209 adult men without finding a single XYY. In a random collection of 1,500 karyotypes, they found only one XYY.

The XYY inmates averaged 6 ft. 1 in. tall, whereas the average for other Carstairs inmates was 5 ft. 7 in. In Melbourne, Dr. Saul Wiener found that the same was true of four Australians, all XYY, who were doing time for murder, attempted murder or larceny. Dr. Mary A. Telfer of Pennsylvania's Elwyn Institute found five XYY abnormalities among 129 inmates at Pennsylvania prisons and penal hospitals selected for study because of their height.

Property Offenses. The consensus so far among the few investigators who have studied the problem is that an extra Y chromosome seems to be associated with below-average intelligence, tall stature and severe acne - traits that might result from the hormone-stimulating effects of the duplicated chromosome. But little more is known about the Y chromosome's effects. Dr. William Price, who works with the research group in Edinburgh, doubts that the XYY pattern can be linked with crimes of violence or sex. Among the XYY men studied at Carstairs, he points out, the proportion whose offenses were against property - such as petty theft and housebreaking - was greater than that among convicts generally.

The XYY males, according to Price, do not suffer from brain damage, epilepsy, or any recognized psychosis such as schizophrenia. They are psychopaths, also called sociopaths - "unstable and immature, without feeling or remorse, unable to construct adequate personal relationships, showing a tendency to abscond from institutions and committing apparently motiveless crimes, mostly against property."

Scotland's XYY convicts tended to get into trouble earlier (around age 13) than the average (about 18). But among their siblings there was an unusually low incidence of criminality. And in the only case so far reported of an XYY with several children, the abnormality was not transmitted: an Oregon XYY has had six sons, but all have a normal XY pattern.

Orthomolecular Minds

Whether or not a man's genes may predispose him to criminal tendencies, Chemist Linus Pauling believes that they may have a lot to do with his mental state. This has been proved for a few relatively uncommon conditions such as phenylketonuria (PKU), in which a defective gene leaves a baby unable to metabolize phenylalanine. The resulting metabolic upset damages the brain and causes mental retardation. But Dr. Pauling would go much farther. In Science, he suggests that because of genetic as well as environmental differences, some people may need more of certain vitamins or other essential nutrients than others. If they have a deficiency, it may selectively affect the brain, producing what he calls a sort of "cerebral scurvy" or "cerebral pellagra."

Dr. Pauling, 67, now on the faculty of the University of California at San Diego, won the 1954 Nobel Prize in chemistry for his monumental work on the chemical bonding of atoms into molecules. Lately, he has won more attention (and a second Nobel prize) as an antiwar crusader. But Pauling remains a chemist at heart, and has long been fascinated by that most elusive of chemical puzzles, the workings of the brain.

Mental Malnutrition. The importance of many vitamins to human health, although commercially overexploited, is well documented. What has been too often overlooked, Pauling complains, is that most of the vitamin-deficiency diseases, such as scurvy, pellagra and pernicious anemia, give early warning of their onset. Months or even years before the physical signs appear, there are changes in mental processes. To Pauling, this suggests simply that the brain is more sensitive than most other organs to even a mild deficiency. He would broaden the range of "essential nutrilites" to include vitamins, amino acids and fatty acids, and probably a host of other substances. He would also widen the range of emotional illnesses for which biochemical causes, or at least components, should be sought.

Pauling believes that varying needs for essential brain nutrients, the result of genetic differences, may lead to insufficient production of a normal metabolic product, or to its inadequate utilization, or to a too rapid rate of destruction. "I believe," says Pauling "that mental disease is for the most part caused by abnormal molecular concentrations of essential substances. Significant improvement in the mental health of many persons might be achieved by the provision of the optimum molecular concentrations of substances normally present in the human body."

Just what these optimum concentrations may be for any individual, Pauling does not pretend to know. It will take a massive research effort over many years to find out, and to find out whether such mental illnesses as schizophrenia can be prevented or effectively treated as a result. But Pauling already has a resounding name for his brain child: "orthomolecular psychiatry," or giving the brain the right molecules in the right amounts.

Time
May 3, 1968

CRIME AND LAWLESSNESS

WHO'S TO BLAME, THE POLICE OR THE PUBLIC?

The man works as a building guard. And he certainly doesn't look anything like a 97-pound weakling. Yet the words he used to describe his neighborhood on Manhattan's West Side in New York City were words of fear.

"Everybody in the neighborhood is scared to death to go out at night . . . I live over on Amsterdam Avenue . . . I wouldn't go out after 8 . . . I'm not a kid, but I've been mugged already." Whereupon he flipped over his arm to show an ugly knife scar on his arm.

One man describing one neighborhood in one city? Yes - and no. For similar words have been used to describe similar conditions in other neighborhoods in other communities - in cities, in suburbs, or in small towns.

In a recent nationwide survey conducted for a Presidential crime study commission, for example, one third of a representative sampling of Americans stated that it was not safe to walk alone at night in their own neighborhoods. In a related, more detailed study of four specific police precincts in Boston and Chicago, 43 per cent of those polled said they stayed off the streets at night, 35 per cent said they do not speak to strangers any more, 20 per cent said they would like to move to another neighborhood - all because of their fear of crime and violence.

Recent statements by public officials at all levels of government have begun to reflect a mounting public uneasiness over crime. "Fear haunts . . . too many American communities," observed President Johnson during ceremonies last March to swear in Ramsey Clark as U.S. Attorney General. "It assails us all, no matter where we live, no matter how little we own. We fear for our person, we fear for our property, and we fear for our privacy."

"America cannot tolerate enduringly this climate of fear," the President continued. "Our streets, our parks, our businesses, and our homes ought to be, should be, and must be made safe. We should be able to greet a stranger as a friend, not as a threat."

The President hit on this theme again a month ago during his State of the Union message to Congress. "Now we at every level of government - state, local, and federal - know that the American people have had enough of rising crime and lawlessness in this country," he said.

And in this national election year, when partisan spirits run high, it was probably significant that both Democrats and Republicans in the Congressional audience joined in shouts of approval at this point in the President's speech. "Crime in the streets" is sure to be a prime issue in this year's campaign, just as it was in 1964 when Republican Presidential candidate Barry Goldwater struck hard on the issue.

Clearly, then, Americans have crime on their minds, and the public appears to be getting desperate for answers. But is there really a rise in crime and lawlessness in the U.S.? Is the "moral climate" in America declining, as many have charged? Are we more prone toward violence, more disrespectful toward the law than ever before? Has our system of criminal justice become so entangled in obscure points of law as to endanger the safety of the public?

Or, on the other hand, is the public caught up in some kind of mass hysteria fanned by lurid headlines about isolated incidents or by sweeping generalizations about "crime waves"? Is there any truth in a charge that "election-year oratory is preying on the public's fear of crime for political gains"? Is it possible that we may "over-react" to the crime problem and, in the process, set new limits on our own freedom while trying to control the criminal element in U.S. society?

All of these are difficult questions that defy simple solution in 25 words or less. Perhaps the most thorough attempt to supply some of the answers came in a measured, decidedly unhysterical report which appeared last year. This report, entitled *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society*, was the work of a special committee, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. An 18-month research effort by dozens of criminologists, sociologists, psychologists, and other experts, this 340-page report has been hailed as the most comprehensive survey of U.S. crime problems to appear in the past 35 years.*

Among the first conclusions of this Presidential Commission: that crime is an incredibly complex subject. There are many different kinds of crimes. Some are violent, some not. Some are directed against the person, others against property. Some crimes are calculated conspiracies, some are spur-of-the-moment acts.

Or as the Commission noted: "A skid row drunk lying in the gutter is a crime. So is the killing of an unfaithful wife. A Cosa Nostra conspiracy to bribe public officials is a crime. So is a strong-arm robbery by a 15-year-old boy. The embezzlement of a corporation's funds by an executive is crime. So is the possession of marijuana cigarettes by a student."

In all, there are more than 2,800 kinds of federal crimes listed on the statute books. There are additional thousands of state and local crimes. "These crimes can no more be lumped together for purposes of analysis than can measles and schizophrenia, or lung cancer and a broken ankle," the Presidential Commission concluded. "As with disease, so with crime; if causes are to be understood, if risks are to be taken, each kind must be looked at separately. Thinking of crime as a whole is futile."

But the Commission also noted that when most Americans think about crime, they are concerned primarily with those which most directly threaten their personal safety and property; the danger of being attacked or robbed while going about their ordinary daily rounds, the risk of burglars breaking into their home, or robbers holding up banks and shopkeepers, or car thieves snatching the family auto, or the fear of being caught up in riots and other civil disturbances. All of these are sometimes conveniently grouped under a general - though not especially accurate - heading of "crime in the streets."

Are America's streets turning into a crime-ridden jungle? Practically the only available crime statistics on a national basis are the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) issued each August by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The UCR, however, concentrate on only seven types of serious crimes that the FBI regards as general indicators of the U.S. crime situation. These seven: murder and non-negligent manslaughter (a homicide that is neither intended nor attributed to negligence; for example, if a night watchman catches a safe cracker and the watchman is killed in an ensuing scuffle, the safe cracker has committed non-negligent manslaughter - in addition to burglary, of course), forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, (larceny of \$50 or more), and motor vehicle theft.

* Copies may be purchased at \$2.25 each from the Supt. of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402

If the UCR figures are to be taken at face value, then those who are concerned about crime in America do have plenty to worry about. The most recent edition of the UCR, issued last summer and covering the year 1966, listed a total of 3,243,400 reported crimes in the seven categories - a rise of 11.4 per cent over the total for the preceding year. The number of crimes reported went up by 10 per cent over the previous year in the cities and in rural areas. In the suburbs the increase was 13 per cent.

Between 1960 and 1966, observed FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, the U.S. population grew nine per cent while the number of reported crimes increased by 62 per cent. Does this mean that the crime rate in the U.S. is going up almost seven times faster than the population?

Maybe. Then again, maybe not. For many criminologists (experts on crime) argue that the UCR figures do not truly reflect the crime situation in the U.S. Even the FBI, which stoutly defends the UCR statistics as the best the U.S. has, readily admits to certain built-in flaws. For the FBI only compiles the UCR totals and must depend on local law enforcement agencies to supply the raw statistics. Despite the Bureau's efforts to set up standards of accuracy in crime reporting, the statistical performance of the local agencies can vary widely from place to place.

Indeed, the FBI admits that a part of the yearly increase in reported crimes, as tabulated in the UCR, is due to generally improving crime reporting standards. In 1966, for example, reports of major crimes in New York City went up a whopping 72 per cent - statistically - over the previous year. But the city's Police Commissioner Howard Leary has explained that the real rise was 6.5 per cent, and that most of the statistical jump was due to a change in police recording procedures.

THE STORY OF CRIME IN U.S.

By J. Edgar Hoover, FBI Director

Criminal violence is exploding into the most serious domestic crisis facing this country, according to J. Edgar Hoover, head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. FBI figures show an ominous surge in crimes, riots and brutality nearly everywhere, especially among teen-agers and young adults. In a far-ranging report to the national commission studying crime, Mr. Hoover describes the forces that are out to destroy law and order.

Violence is a reality in America today. In the light of events in recent years, it has become the most serious domestic problem confronting the United States.

Crimes of Violence

Every indicator available to the FBI, from its investigative responsibilities in both the criminal and security fields, emphasizes that violence is a rapidly growing malady. This is clearly shown in the statistics compiled by the FBI in its Uniform Crime Reporting program.

Of an estimated 3.75 million serious crimes reported to law-enforcement agencies in 1967, 484,900 were violent crimes in the classifications of murder, forcible rape, robbery and aggravated assault. This represented a substantial increase over the 421,000 such crimes reported in 1966. The violent-crime rate in the United States for 1967 reached 250 victims per 100,000 population. This is more than double the 1940 rate, 88 per cent higher than the 1950 rate, and 57 per cent above the 1960 rate. Over all, crime in the United States rose 21 per cent during the first six months of 1968 over the corresponding period in 1967. The violent crimes of murder, forcible rape, robbery and aggravated assault increased 21 per cent as a group. Armed robberies increased 34 per cent, and aggravated assaults with firearms 28 per cent in the first six months of 1968, as compared to the same period in 1967.

These statistics represent an epidemic of crime and violence which has affected virtually every segment of American society. The mugger, the rapist, the hoodlum stalk our streets in frightening numbers. Fear of venturing outside the home at night has become a fact of urban life.

Guns are far and away the most common weapons used in murders and nonnegligent homicides. Of the 12,090 murders reported in the United States in 1967, over 7,600 were committed with firearms. They were also used in over 73,000 armed robberies and over 52,000 aggravated assaults. It is significant in these times, when we know too well the tragic stories of senseless sniper killings and the shooting of innocent people by crazed gunmen, that murder by firearms has increased 47 per cent since 1964.

Armed robberies and aggravated assaults with firearms have increased 58 and 76 per cent, respectively, since 1964.

The "crime clocks" as contained in the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports for 1967, show that last year these offenses occurred at these time rates:

Serious crimes: Seven each minute

Violent crimes: One each minute

Murder: One every 43 minutes
Forcible rape: One every 19 minutes
Aggravated assault: One every 2 minutes
Robbery: One every 2½ minutes
Burglary: One every 20 seconds
Larceny: One every 30 seconds
Auto theft: One every 48 seconds.

Violence Against Law-Enforcement Officers

The violence of the criminal, often cold-blooded and calculated, is especially felt by law-enforcement officers. In 1967, 76 officers were killed in the United States while performing their official duties. This raised the total of these deaths to 411 for the eight year period beginning in 1960. In 96 per cent of these murders, firearms were used.

A study of the criminal histories of the 539 offenders involved in these police murders since 1960 reveals that 77 per cent had been arrested on some prior criminal charge before they took an officer's life. In fact, 54 per cent of those offenders with prior criminal arrests had been previously taken into custody for such violent crimes as murder, rape, robbery and assault with intent to kill.

Of the offenders previously convicted, two thirds had been granted leniency in the form of parole or probation. Three of every 10 of the offenders were on parole or probation when they murdered an officer. Physical assaults against officers are also increasing. A heavy toll of injuries among police officers has resulted from enforcement action taken in connection with riots and civil disobedience.

Nationally, the rate of assaults on law-enforcement officers in 1967 was up 11 per cent, and assaults per 100 officers increased to 13.5 per cent from 12.2 per cent in 1966.

Youthful Criminality

A particularly tragic fact of the crime and violence problem in this country is the increasing involvement of young people. A disproportionate share of national crime is committed by persons under 18 years of age. In 1967, for example, 49 per cent of those arrested for serious crimes were in this age bracket; and arrests of persons under 18 increased a startling 69 per cent from 1960 to 1967, while the number of persons in the age group 10 through 17 increased just 22 per cent.

The majority of juvenile crimes are against property - 62 per cent of all persons arrested for car theft in 1967, for example, were under 18 years of age. However, youthful violence has been steadily rising. Arrests of individuals in this age group for violent crimes showed the following percentage increases in 1967 over 1960: murder, 56 per cent; forcible rape, 38 per cent; robbery, 96 per cent; and aggravated assault, 121 per cent.

Violence is particularly prevalent today among young people in large metropolitan areas. Vicious juvenile gangs terrorize the slum sections which spawn them, using weapons easily made or come by to commit crimes of violence, which all too frequently leave their victims killed or maimed. This youthful criminality too often establishes a career in crime.

Organized Crime

Although violence is an integral part of the operations of organized crime - whose major syndicate is known as LaCosa Nostra - it is a coldly calculated tactic to maintain the group's dominance over its own members and over the members of the society in which it operates, rather than terror for terror's sake.

The peculiar evil of this type of "corporate" violence is not the individual sadism and brutality of the "enforcers" and "strong-arm men," but the monopolistic position it enables racket leaders to gain and hold in their legitimate, as well as their illicit, activities.

Force and threats of force are employed to eliminate rivals, collect on gambling and loan-sharking debts, frighten potential witnesses, enforce internal discipline, and gain possession of various business chattels. In the greater Chicago area alone, there have been more than 1,000 gangland slayings since 1919, only 17 of which have been solved; in the greater Boston area, there have been more than 50 during the past four years, only 11 of which have been solved.

Careers in Crime

The FBI's careers-in-crime program, a study of criminal careers, made possible by the cooperative exchange of criminal-fingerprint data among law-enforcement agencies, has produced the following profile of 12,026 perpetrators of violent crimes who were arrested in 1966 and 1967: For the murderers, of whom there were 922, the average criminal career was 11 years, and 7 arrests. For the felonious-assault offenders, of whom there were 4,538, the average career was 10 years, and 8 arrests. For the rapists, of whom there were 925, the average career was 8 years, and 7 arrests. And for the robbers, of whom there were 5,641, the average career was 9 years, with 8 arrests. Seven per cent of the murderers had previously been charged with homicide during their criminal careers, and 18 per cent of the rapists were repeaters of this violation. With respect to the felonious-assault offenders, 30 per cent had previous arrests for serious assaults, and 37 per cent of the robbers had repeated the crime. This is of key interest, because it shows a tendency toward the commission of violent crimes by repeaters.

Cost of Crime and Violence

The enormous cost in money and ruined lives, which the statistics of American crime represent, touches almost every citizen in some manner. The cost in dollars and cents is staggering - estimated at over 27 billion dollars a year. The damage inflicted by the riots in our cities in recent years has added materially to this figure. The rioting here in Washington, D.C., following the murder of Martin Luther King on April 4, 1968, caused damage estimated at 24 million dollars. Losses sustained during the April rioting in Baltimore amounted to 14 million dollars. The cost to society of the fear and anguish resulting from violence cannot be assessed monetarily. There is no way to determine accurately the damage to the nation or to individual lives resulting from the harrowing experiences of criminal attacks which maim or mutilate, nor the price of personal grief and suffering for families of those struck down by killers. The corrosion of fear which violence brings saps our strength as a nation and weakens the social fabric of our communities.

CAUSES OF AND REMEDIES FOR VIOLENCE

The crime and violence that flourish in America cannot be attributed to a single cause. The causes are many and interrelated, for they are rooted in a number of conditions and influences in contemporary life.

Just as there is no one cause, there is no single remedy. Crime and violence cannot be prevented or reduced by concentrating on one or two phases of the problem to the exclusion of the others. A coordinated and many-sided effort is required if effective results are to be achieved.

Social and Economic

There are a number of vital social and economic factors - such as poverty, inequality of employment opportunities, inferior housing, inadequate education, discrimination, and breakdown of the family - which breed lawlessness and violence. I shall not dwell on them. It is sufficient to say that we must find ways to eliminate the conditions which are causing us so much grief and concern.

Social and economic causes aside, there are other important factors which have a strong bearing on the era of violence we live in. It is my firm conviction that crime and violence are increasing primarily because there is a mass deterioration in the respect shown for the rule of law in our nation and for some who enforce it. In addition, the deterrents to crime have been weakened. Those who choose to break the law or commit acts of violence know that the punishment no longer fits the crime. This mass deterioration is also clearly manifested in the abdication of individual responsibility.

Individual Responsibility

Too many individuals eagerly avail themselves of the rights, privileges, opportunities and benefits which this nation affords, but shirk the duties and responsibilities that life in a free society entails. Often, the serious problems and issues that face the nation can be laid directly to the failure of citizens to fulfill their personal and civic obligations.

There is, unfortunately, a reluctance on the part of some of our citizens to act positively in behalf of law and order. Police have been assaulted while spectators stood by idly watching. Crimes have gone unreported. Witnesses have been unwilling to testify. Even jury duty, the ultimate participation of the layman in the judicial process that seeks to protect him and his property, is regarded as something to be avoided if at all possible. This attitude of noninvolvement was tragically illustrated in the slaying of a young woman in New York City while at least 37 persons in the neighborhood witnessed the series of attacks on her lasting over an hour but did not go to her aid. In fact, only one witness went so far as to call the police.

The key ingredient of our nation's social structure is the individual. Each one must realize that in today's complex society he is, in fact, his brother's keeper. He must abide by the golden rule of treating others as he wishes others to treat him. The individual must realize that, as a member of society, he is dependent upon other members of the society. The individual must recognize that the more he contributes to society the better society will become.

If each individual citizen would exert an extra measure of caution in his daily life in an effort to preclude opportunities for crime and criminals to flourish, the results in the prevention of crime and violence would be immeasurable. Automobile thefts provide a good example. FBI statistics reveal that in 42 per cent of the cars stolen in the United States, the key was left in the ignition, or the ignition was not locked.

Respect for Law and Authority

The results of the flagrant disregard for law and order are evident in the widespread and purposeful violation of laws and regulations not to one's personal liking. Such a disregard is not limited to those accused or convicted of crimes, and not to any particular group or groups of individuals in our society. Efforts to avoid payment of taxes, attempts to influence police officers in even minor traffic violations, and opposition of loyalty and patriotism as being old-fashioned and out of date are only a few examples of activities and ideas that undermine our system of law and order.

Heightening the atmosphere of resentment of authority and irresponsibility to others in our society is an all-too-prevalent defiance of duly established laws and rules that is euphemistically termed "civil disobedience." It takes the form of draft-card burnings, seizure of property, or loud and disruptive demonstrations.

The demagogic exhortations of a number of civil-rights, peace, and student leaders have done much to encourage and condone lawlessness and civil disobedience. Their unsound doctrine implies that the answers to all social and economic problems are not to be found in legal procedures, but on the streets, behind barricades, and even in looting, shooting, arson and riots.

Lawlessness is not to be equated with legitimate dissent. Dissent is one of this nation's priceless values. It must be protected at all times and in all areas of thought and action, be it in time of peace or in time of war. But this dissent, of its very nature, requires law for both its expression and its preservation.

The attitude of the public and young people, particularly with regard to the resentment of authority and violence against the Government and other institutions, is not confined to the United States. A number of countries in other parts of the world, such as France and West Germany, have experienced the same attitude of revolt against established authority.

Attitude of Permissiveness

An attitude of permissiveness is becoming more and more evident in our society today, leading to the progressive relaxing and discarding of all forms of restraint and discipline. This attitude has actually been fostered and, in effect, promoted by too many educators, sociologists, clergymen, public officials and parents. Its effect can be seen in the recent actions of some young people throughout the nation, with little or no respect being given for tradition or authority. Their actions have been undisciplined and unrestrained.

The abrogation of responsibility on the part of those in authority has developed among young people an "anything goes" attitude in personal and collective moral standards, and has resulted in an alarming breakdown of the moral fabric of American society.

Our increasingly affluent, materialistic, and permissive society has encouraged the growth of a psychology of lawlessness and violence. There exist a softness and tolerance toward those who violate laws on the flimsy pretext of "conscience" or personal judgment of the "justness" of some laws. Such permissiveness invites further violation and leads directly to a general disregard for law and order.

Public officials themselves have played a part in the build-up of permissiveness and violence because of their tendency to overlook a little "lawbreaking" by pressure groups, apparently in the hope that this is the way to satisfy the demand and blunt it. Condoning acts of civil disorder makes law enforcement even more difficult. Moreover, capitulation to the perpetrators of violence merely leads to more leniency, more breaking of the law, and more violence.

Discrediting Law Enforcement

Much of the disrespect for law enforcement has grown up over the years from a general contempt for authority that has evolved in a permissive atmosphere. Attempts are made to depict law-enforcement officers in an unflattering manner or to improperly charge them with misconduct. Such claims tend to create a false image of law enforcement and to give license to those who consider the police as "enemies." Certainly, there is room for improvement in police personnel and operations, and there are instances of police misconduct. However, it is unfair to condemn all of law enforcement for the shortcomings of a few.

An acute problem facing law-enforcement agencies today is the failure to obtain an adequate number of qualified personnel. More trained police officers are urgently needed. The number of trained police officers - local, State and federal - has not kept pace, proportionately, with the increase in crime and violence in the United States.

There are several reasons for this lack of interested applicants: The most obvious reason is the traditionally low salaries paid to law-enforcement personnel. A police officer is expected to have some of the attributes of a sociologist, a criminologist and a lawyer, but is often paid less than an unskilled laborer.

Another factor which creates difficulties for recruiting law-enforcement personnel is a trend away from holding this vocation in high esteem. Every effort should be made by individuals and organizations to attempt to raise the reputation of law enforcement, in order to make this vocation more popular in the eyes of our youth.

Adequate training of law-enforcement personnel is another remedy which will assist in creating a more professional corps among law officers. Police need instruction in the use of new equipment, developed for use in crime detection and prevention. Education in

legal matters, such as recent court decisions affecting police work, is necessary for new officers, as well as older members of a police force.

To implement a program along this line, the FBI has long furnished instructors and conducted police schools throughout the United States in cooperation with local police agencies. The Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 authorized the FBI to assist in conducting local and regional training programs for State and local law-enforcement personnel when requested to do so by a State or unit of local government, and Congress has appropriated 3 million dollars for this purpose.

The FBI's training assistance will be materially increased with the construction of our new academy complex at Quantico, Va., a facility that will permit us to train approximately 3,000 police officers annually.

An extremely valuable weapon for combatting all types of criminal activity, including violent crime, is the FBI's National Crime Information Center (NCIC), a computerized index concerning crime and criminals of nationwide interest. The NCIC provides law enforcement with immediately available centralized data pertaining to the instruments of violent crime - such as stolen firearms - and information on violence-prone offenders wanted by local, State and federal jurisdictions.

This system has been very successful not only in identifying stolen firearms in the hands of the criminal element, but also has been of immeasurable aid in removing the repeating offender from society. Police are finding the NCIC of great help in their work, which is attested by the fact that they are using this system over 20,000 times each day at present, and this use is constantly increasing.

Administration of Justice

One very important aspect of the atmosphere of increased crime and violence is the administration of justice for the accused and convicted person. Today, prompt justice is thwarted many times by "continuance experts," by perennial browbeaters of witnesses, and by hunters for loopholes and technicalities in the law.

Many citizens, noting that even admitted criminals are being freed on procedural matters and not on the basis of guilt or innocence, are beginning to believe that some judges often seek to find errors rather than truth, thus tipping the scales in favor of the criminal over the rights of society. In addition, to see offenders "get away" with their criminal depredations certainly encourages certain other citizens to commit similar violations.

Some jurisdictions have reputations among the criminal element for "easy" treatment, on the specious ground that society and not the individual is responsible for criminal behavior. It can be said with some certainty, of course, that criminals learn quickly where sentencing is lenient.

Crime "repeaters" add to the threat facing the law-abiding citizen's person and property. I have said often that parole, probation and other clemency have their place in our system of criminal justice. What I strongly object to, however, is the inadequacy of such release measures to protect society when they are improperly implemented or administered.

An FBI program started in 1963 to follow criminal and prosecutive histories has shown that of nearly 18,000 federal offenders released to the street in 1963, 60 per cent were arrested for new crimes within four years, and over 50 per cent were arrested in

another State. In addition, of the 87,600 repeaters rearrested in 1966 and 1967, over 55 per cent had received leniency in the form of parole, probation, suspended sentences or conditional releases.

If our system of law is to survive, then the law must be enforced. Those who break the law, acting alone or in concert, must be speedily detected and arrested, promptly prosecuted, and given proper, substantial punishment. The mollycoddling of vicious juveniles and the release of persons with criminal records without bond only encourages contempt for the law, for it permits such individuals to go out and flout and law again. Moreover, respect for the law is not increased by lenient judges, timid prosecutors and misguided writers.

Justice must extend beyond the courtroom back to the site where the victim's rights are violated. When the individual is no longer reasonably secure in his home and on the streets of his community, then justice is not served. Rather, the criminal is being favored at the expense of the law-abiding citizen. We need justice which keeps the balance true, and affords the law-abiding public an even break.

Firearms

United States citizens possess untold millions of pistols, rifles and shotguns. The ease with which firearms may be procured in the United States is a significant factor in the growth of crime and violence. Firearms have been readily obtainable through mailorder houses and across the counter for both the honest citizen and criminally inclined persons.

Thefts of firearms are still another source of weapons that are used in crime. An increase in such thefts from homes, sporting-goods stores, and Government facilities has been noted. As of Sept. 1, 1968, some 171,856 firearms of all types were listed as stolen, missing or recovered in the FBI's National Crime Information Center. These weapons, reported stolen since January, 1967, have been listed through facilities in only 43 States, as our center is still in the process of expanding to include all States.

The mounting number of violent crimes committed with firearms, and the tragic events of the last few months are mute testimony to the urgent need for more stringent and more effective gun controls to help prevent further violence. A recent national poll indicates that 81 per cent of the American people are in favor of stricter gun control.

I will reiterate my long-standing position that tough, comprehensive, uniform gun-control legislation is imperative for the public's safety. Although the passage of laws containing restrictions of weapons and the licensing of their owners would be somewhat of a chore, there can be no valid objection, since automobiles, airplanes, motorcycles, motor boats, and even dogs have long been subject to registration and/or licensing. The benefits to the safety and welfare of all our citizens would tremendously outweigh any disadvantages or inconveniences.

While gun controls obviously cannot end violence, rigidly enforced controls would undoubtedly contribute to a reduction in violence. The gun-control provisions of the Omnibus Crime Control and the Safe Streets Act recently enacted by Congress are a step in the right direction; however, it is imperative that further consideration be given to this pressing problem.

Communications Media

Entertainment and communications media exert a strong influence upon our national tastes, standards and even our patterns of conduct. Television, which reaches not only into the living room, but also into the nursery and playroom as well, has been a powerful force in the lives of our youth.

Although the television industry has control over the programs it presents, the extent of violence depicted in many shows is almost unbelievable. Viewers are constantly bombarded with a steady stream of sex, sadism and criminal acts that, through repetition, might appear to some as normal behavior.

Far too much emphasis is also being paid on television to the antics of a publicity, seeking extremist minority. Impressionable youths and immature individuals can easily conclude from television news coverage that everyone is protesting, demonstrating, marching and burning draft cards, when, in some cases, the reporters, camera men and assorted technicians appear to outnumber the demonstrators. Usually, rational explanations or refutations are not supplied.

I am in complete agreement with the observations of some representatives of the mass media who admit that television, radio and the press all too frequently are guilty of distorting the efforts of police to preserve law and order when confronted by large, hostile mobs, as was true in Chicago during the recent Democratic National Convention. These media will highlight and magnify some acts of so-called "police brutality" and completely ignore or minimize the premeditated and viciously provocative acts of demonstrators.

Professional demagogues, extremists and revolutionaries have learned that the news media - television in particular - are their most effective weapon to gain notoriety and to discredit law enforcement. Consequently, they make it a practice, for the benefit of television cameras, to try to goad police into resorting to strong measures necessary to maintain effective control.

Months before the Democratic National Convention was held, authorities were fully aware that it was the target for disruption and violence on the part of dissident groups and individuals from all over the country. It was clear that these dissidents intended to deliberately force a direct hostile confrontation with established authority. Pre-Convention plans went so far as to involve assassination plots against Vice President Humphrey, Senator McCarthy and some prominent Negroes. It was against this background that authorities were compelled to devise necessary and effective security precautions.

During the course of the Convention, demonstrators taunted the police and subjected them to unbelievable abuse. Demonstrators called them "pigs" and shouted obscenities at them, spit at them, threw bags of excrement and urine and dangerous objects - such as golf balls with protruding nails - at them. Unruly and menacing mobs gathered, intent on marching to the International Amphitheater and disrupting the Convention. If it is true that some innocent people were the victims of unnecessary roughness on the part of the police, it is also true the Chicago police and the National Guard were faced with vicious attacking mobs who gave them no alternative but to use force to prevent these mobs from accomplishing their destructive purposes. It is a tribute to the authorities that under these chaotic circumstances - deliberately created by ruthless, lawless leaders - the Convention was not disrupted, the city was not paralyzed, not one shot was fired by police at the demonstrators, and not one life was lost.

A seemingly limitless excess of sex, sadism, degeneracy and violence is only too apparent in the offerings of the motion-picture industry. One needs only to scan the lurid advertisements of current or coming film attractions. In some cases, these movies are labeled for adults only. However, the judgment as to just who is an adult is confined for the most part to the ticket salesman or the theater manager. A recent national survey concludes that 62 per cent of those polled feel that "movies with violence in them" are major contributors to violence.

Cheap novels and sensual magazines which glorify sex, in both its normal and abnormal context, and mock our traditional standards of morality are becoming increasingly prevalent on the shelves of newsstands and book stores.

I have over the years publicly opposed any form of entertainment that glorifies violence, glamorized corruption, and depicts criminals as heroes. No standard of decency can tolerate the portrayal of gangsters as modern-day Robin Hoods, concede that crime pays, ridicule decency and honesty, or justify the conclusion that graft and corruption are to be expected in our society.

Properly and intelligently prepared motion pictures and television programs emphasizing that crime is evil and brings misery, despair and even death can serve as a deterrent to the would-be criminal. Such presentations, however, should be restrained, conform to rigid standards of good taste, authenticity and the portrayal of lawlessness in its proper light. The sound adage that crime does not pay should be inherent in them.

Extremism in all of the mass media should be avoided. Certainly, prompt, factual and objective reporting of violent actions, such as riots, is desirable and necessary so the public will be informed. However, overemphasis on the frenzied actions and statements of publicity-seeking extremists and hate-mongers can only beget more violence.

The exhortation "Burn, baby, burn" by militant agitators on a television screen is definitely not conducive to quelling a riot.

As I have said in the past, strict adherence to high journalistic principles is a valuable and essential public service in matters affecting public safety.

CONCLUSION

The foundation of our society is a respect for and an observance of law and order. The mounting volume of crime and violence simply cannot be condoned or tolerated. The United States cannot have its citizens afraid to walk the streets of its cities, lest they be mugged or beaten or even killed. It cannot permit its cities to be devastated by looting and burning. It cannot allow its public leaders to face constantly the risk of being assassinated.

There is no way, of course, that crime and violence can be completely eliminated. We will continue to have crime and violence in this country and throughout the world, because, unfortunately, criminal and violent behavior is the nature of some men. The answer will be found not in hand-wringing or self-indictment, but in striving to eradicate the basic sources of crime and violence through direct, positive measures - such as I have outlined - in order to reduce lawlessness to a minimum.

In conclusion, while there is a vital necessity for creating a wholesome social and economic atmosphere in which all citizens will have an equal opportunity to better themselves, we must not lose sight of time-proven deterrents to crime and violence. These deterrents -

the certainty of sure detection, swift apprehension, and realistic treatment under law - are indispensable weapons in the never-ending battle to preserve law and order and decency. We need to make respect for law and order the first priority in our national life, for the rule of law is paramount to this nation's continued existence.

Foregoing is a partial text of a statement by Mr. Hoover to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, September 18, 1968.

U.S. News and World Report
October 7, 1968

A SENATOR TELLS: WHAT COURTS ARE DOING TO LAW ENFORCEMENT

Are Supreme Court rulings permitting confessed criminals to go free? Senator John L. McClellan (Dem.), of Arkansas, says they are. Here, in a Senate speech, he analyzes specific rulings and proposes a remedy he says will protect the right of society as well as the rights of criminals.

Following are excerpts from a statement by Senator John L. McClellan (Dem.), of Arkansas, to the Senate of May 1, 1968:

Mr. President, no matter how much money we appropriate for local police departments we will not have effective law enforcement so long as the courts allow self-confessed criminals to go unpunished. The confusion and disarray injected into law enforcement by such decisions as Mallory (Mallory vs. U.S., decided June 27, 1957), Escobedo (Escobedo vs. Illinois, 1964) and Miranda (Miranda vs. Arizona, decided June 13, 1966) are deplorable and demoralizing. They have weakened intolerably the force and effect of our criminal laws, and Congress better do something about it.

These decisions have set free many dangerous criminals and are daily preventing the conviction of others who are guilty. How can the freeing of known, admitted and confessed murderers, robbers and rapists by the courts, not on the basis of innocence, but rather on the pretext of some alleged, minor or dubious technicality, be justified?

The breakdown of law and order emanating from such slavish dedication to technicalities is diminishing the safety of our citizens in their homes and on the streets of our cities. It is, to some degree, responsible for the increase in vicious assaults that are being made by thugs and hoodlums upon police and law-enforcement officials upon whom we must rely for protection.

Gangsters, racketeers and habitual criminals are increasingly defying the law and flouting duly constituted authority and getting away with it. As a consequence, public confidence in the ability of the courts to administer justice is being undermined and gravely impaired. Until the courts, and particularly the United States Supreme Court, become cognizant of this damaging trend and begin to administer justice with greater emphasis on truth and a deeper concern for the protection of the public, the crime rate will continue its upward spiral, and the quality of justice will further deteriorate.

Criminal laws and punishment of the guilty are imperative to the preservation of social order and the civic liberties of our people. In the pursuit of those objectives, the scales of justice should be balanced proportionately and firmly so as to protect both the rights of society and those of the individual.

In 1947, Congress indicated its approval of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure, including Rule 5(a) which, in effect, states that an officer making an arrest shall take the arrested person "without unnecessary delay" before a committing magistrate. That rule is not contradictory to nor is it out of harmony with procedures that have been followed in federal and State courts for many years. It was simply designed to prevent protracted confinement in order to coerce the prisoner. The determination of what constitutes "unnecessary delay" was properly left to the court. The language carries with it the full import that "unnecessary delay" would be influenced and determined by the particular circumstances in any given case.

"How Law Is 'Perverted By Courts'"

But I dare say that no Congressman or Senator who approved the adoption of Rule 5(a) in 1947 had any idea that it would be perverted by the courts as it was in the Mallory case. Not only the clear meaning but also the significant connotation of the word "unnecessary" clearly implies and recognizes that a different set of circumstances may attend each separate case or instance of arrest or detention.

The salient facts of the Mallory case are: In April of 1954, a woman in Washington, D.C., was raped in the basement of the apartment building in which she lived. The circumstances clearly indicated that the perpetrator of this crime was one of three young men. The rapist was disguised, and the woman was unable to make positive identification. So the police took all three suspects to headquarters for questioning. They all agreed to take a lie detector test. At the conclusion of the test and some seven hours after he had been taken into custody, Andrew Mallory confessed to the crime. The police could not locate a committing magistrate that night, and therefore, he was not arraigned until the next day. For this reason, the Supreme Court (in the Mallory case) reversed his conviction and released him, saying that the delay between arrest and arraignment was too long.

Under these circumstances, what should the police have done? Should they have released him that night after he confessed because no committing magistrate was available for his arraignment? The answer is positively no. Had they done so, they would have been flagrantly and inexcusable derelict in their duty; but no more so than the Supreme Court when it released him on society to resume pursuit of his criminal and predatory instincts.

And, after his release, Mallory did pursue those instincts. For not long after he was freed, he perpetrated another crime - another personal assault, in another city, in Philadelphia - for which he was convicted and was sentenced to 11½ to 23 years' imprisonment. This second victim - and probably others we do not know about - would have spared the ravages of this criminal if justice had not miscarried - if the courts had not seized upon a dubious technicality to set him free.

Interrogation is one of the principal methods used by law-enforcement officers in solving crimes. It is a traditional, a legitimate and an indispensable detection procedure. Most crimes are committed in secret. The simple fact is that if a man is intent on committing serious crimes - murder, rape, robbery and so forth - he will do it if at all possible when there are no witnesses present, as did Andrew Mallory. He will disguise himself so as to prevent identification, as did Andrew Mallory. Thus, at the very outset, the task of the police in attempting to ferret out the criminal - with all of his wiles, guises and disguises - is often like looking for the proverbial needle in a haystack. And court decisions, such as in the Mallory case, are presenting barricades that prevent the police from even getting to the haystack, much less permitting them to search in it for the elusive needle.

The evil consequences of the Mallory rule are strikingly illustrated in the decision rendered by the District of Columbia Circuit Court of Appeals in the Killough case (Killough vs. U.S., decided Oct. 4, 1963).

In 1960, James Killough strangled his wife, Goldie, and buried her at a Washington D.C., city dump. Because of strong suspicious circumstances surrounding Goldie's disappearance, Killough was questioned some length. At the end of the day, he confessed and showed the police where he buried her body. He was then arraigned. The next day, while

still in confinement, he confessed again. He was tried in a district court and convicted. But, the District of Columbia Court of Appeals, basing its decision largely upon the rule laid down by the U.S. Supreme Court in the Mallory case, reversed his conviction, and held that the first confession made by him was inadmissible because of the delay in arraignment from the time Killough was detained for questioning before he confessed, and that his second confession was inadmissible because it was tainted with the first. In his dissenting opinion, Judge Burger said, in part: "It is inconceivable that justice would go to such lengths, ignoring a reasonable balance between individual rights and the protection of the public."

But the acme of irrationality and the ultimate in absurdity occurred when this same U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia (Alston vs. U.S., decided May 6, 1965) reversed the manslaughter conviction of Tom E. Alston, Jr., because he was interviewed for five minutes before being taken to a magistrate for arraignment. This clearly demonstrates the incongruous and unconscionable extremes to which this court has gone to favor and release the guilty, to the detriment of law and order and a safe society . . .

The restrictive rule laid down in the Escobedo case also emphasizes the plight of the police in their efforts to cope with crime as a result of the shackles that have been placed on them by court decisions. In that case, the Supreme Court held: "When, as here, an investigation no longer is a general inquiry into an unsolved crime, but has begun to focus on a particular suspect who has been taken into custody, and the police carry out interrogation that lends itself to incriminating statements, without warning him of his constitutional rights and without acceding to his requests for assistance of counsel, the accused has been denied the right to counsel guaranteed by Amendment 6 and the due-process clause of Amendment 14. Consequently, any statement elicited from him during such interrogation is inadmissible at his trial."

Justice White accurately characterizes this far-reaching decision in his dissenting opinion. He stated: "The Court seems to think that it is uncivilized for law enforcement to use an accused's own admission at his trial, and effects this by attaching the right to counsel to its rule. This right attaches once the accused becomes suspect, and thus bars admissions. This rule will prove unworkable unless police cars are equipped with public defenders and undercover agents, and police informants have defense counsel at their side. Under this approach one might argue that a potential defendant is constitutionally entitled to an attorney before, not after, he commits a crime, since it is then that incriminating evidence is put within reach of government by the would-be accused. The defendant here knew full well that he did not have to answer. This new rule will cripple law enforcement."

"Rights of Society Are Imperiled"

I agree with Justice White. The Prohibition imposed by this rule is definitely thwarting legitimate and necessary efforts of law-enforcement officers to detect and investigate crime and to apprehend and prosecute those who are guilty. Thus, by this decision, the rights of society and the safety of the public are further imperiled while the wages of crime and protection of the criminal are greatly enhanced.

Following the reversal of his murder conviction, Escobedo continued his criminal career and was subsequently convicted on four counts of possessing and selling heroin, and sentenced to 22 years in prison.

But it was in the case of Miranda vs. Arizona, decided June 13, 1966, that the Supreme Court went "too far on too little." In that case the Court in a 5-to-4 decision formulated a new constitutional code of rules for police interrogation of criminal suspects.

The decision provides that no confession - even if wholly voluntary in the traditional sense - can be admitted in evidence in a State or federal criminal proceeding unless the prosecution can sustain the burden of proving that a fourfold warning of his rights was given to the suspect in custody before he was questioned: Namely, that he has a right to remain silent; that anything he says may be used against him; that he has the right to have an attorney present during all questioning, and that, if indigent, he has the right to a lawyer without charge.

Under this decision, the prosecution also has the burden of proving that the suspect voluntarily waived these rights by some affirmative statement and that such waiver continued in force throughout the entire questioning period. Any conviction depending in whole or part upon voluntary confessions obtained by methods which do not measure up to these rigid standards must be reversed on appeal.

This decision was an abrupt departure from precedent extending back to the earliest days of the Republic . . . The Miranda majority opinion upset what had been the law in practically every State and in all federal circuits . . .

Prior to the Miranda majority opinion, the Court had consistently held, as so clearly demonstrated by Mr. Justice White in his dissent, that: "It is not essential to the admissibility of a confession that it should appear that the person was warned that what he said would be used against him, but on the contrary, if the confession was voluntary, it is sufficient though it appears that he was not so warned."

I urge my colleagues to review this case, particularly the vigorous dissenting opinions submitted by Justices Clark, White, Harlan and Stewart . . . Justice Harlan said: "I believe the decision of the Court represents poor constitutional law and entails harmful consequences for the country at large. How serious these consequences may prove to be, only time can tell."

Mr. President, that the fears expressed by the minority were well founded is clear from the testimony received by the Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures. Judge Lawrence T. Wren, who presided at the second Miranda trial, testified before the subcommittee that: "Miranda would have gone free on his second trial, because of the exclusionary ruling, on an instructed verdict of acquittal had not the county attorney's office, one week before the second trial, literally stumbled onto a statement made by the accused to a woman with whom he had been living at the time of the rape."

Judge Wren described the case as "a nine-day game of constitutional chess, during which time the jurors, during the nine days, heard only six hours of testimony." Continuing, he said: "When the verdict was finally in, I suddenly realized, with complete amazement and infinite disgust, that we had dealt not at all, during that nine-day trial, with the basic question of guilt or innocence. Not once had this question been even a part of our thorny legal arguments and motions. In fact, the trial had a very ironical twist on that point. Miranda himself took the witness chair, in the absence of the jury, of course, and, while testifying that his second confession was tainted by the first, admitted on cross-examination, that he had, in fact, raped the girl."

In Columbus, Ohio, recently a self-confessed murderer was turned loose because of the Miranda decision. He had voluntarily confessed, and told where the murder weapon, a shotgun, could be found. It was found, and tests proved it was the weapon used in the commission of the crime. Both confession and gun had to be excluded from the evidence. As a consequence, that murderer walks the streets today - free and unpunished for his terrible crime.

In Evansville, Ind., a murderer was seen leaving his victim's apartment. Later he admitted the crime. No coercion was exerted over him. Yet, under the Miranda decision, the prosecuting attorney felt the confession had to be excluded, and, therefore, allowed the murderer to plead guilty to manslaughter. Numerous prosecuting attorneys in our major cities have informed the Subcommittee that this decision has had similar effect in their jurisdictions.

This situation will continue - even worsen - so long as confusion and uncertainty over the admissibility of voluntary confessions and admissions exists in our judicial system.

Fewer Statements From Suspects

Statistical evidence further indicates the harmful effects of the Miranda decision. During the Subcommittee hearings, Arlen Specter, district attorney of the city of Philadelphia, revealed a study on the effects of Miranda conducted by his office.

The results indicated that prior to the Escobedo case 90 per cent of the suspects would make a statement, often not incriminating on their face, but valuable in investigating the crime. After Escobedo, only 80 per cent would give statements. After the Second Circuit Russo case, only 68 per cent per cent of suspects would give statements. Then came the Miranda case of June, 1966. For a period after Miranda, out of 5,220 suspects arrested for serious crimes, 3,095 refused to give a statement. This is a percentage of only 41 per cent who would give statements, a decrease of 49 per cent since Escobedo. These statistics are inclined to become more alarming as more criminals become more familiar with Miranda.

Aaron Koota, district attorney for Kings County, New York, conducted a similar survey, indicating that prior to Miranda, approximately 90 per cent of the suspects involved in serious crimes made statements or confessions to police. After Miranda, 49 per cent made statements or confessions.

Specifically, between June and September of 1966, Mr. Koota revealed that 130 of 316 suspects refused to make any statements at all. In only 30 of these 130 cases did Mr. Koota have sufficient evidence to prosecute apart from the confession. Mr. Koota was unequivocal in stating that confessions are helpful in securing convictions.

Charles E. Moylan, Jr. State's attorney for the city of Baltimore, Md., reports more disturbing statistics. Mr. Moylan said: "We used to get (confessions) in 20 to 25 per cent of our cases, and now we are getting (them) in 2 per cent of our cases. The confession as a law-enforcement instrument has been virtually eliminated." Mr. Moylan noted that the Miranda case has encouraged criminals, discouraged the police, and disappointed the public that depends on the courts for protection.

Frank S. Hogan, New York County district attorney, reported similar findings. In the six months prior to the Miranda case, 49 per cent of the nonhomicide felony defendants in New York County made incriminating statements. In the six months after this decision, only 15 per cent of the defendants gave incriminating statements. Mr. Hogan characterized it as being most harmful to efforts to convict criminals who roam our streets and assault our citizens.

To allow reasonable questioning of suspects would protect the innocent, and would not, I am convinced, infringe in any way on the real constitutional rights of the criminal. More than any other nation, our criminal trials are replete with protection for the accused. This was true before Miranda. Since Miranda, the trial has become a quest not

for truth or innocence, but whether the policeman followed the latest edict from the Supreme Court.

Congress must deal with this problem. We can shirk this responsibility only in dereliction of our duty. It simply does not make sense that uncoerced confessions and incriminating statements cannot be used in the prosecution of a criminal . . .

Common sense dictates that the determination, in each individual case, should be made in the same manner that other disputed issues of fact are determined under our system of jurisprudence - by judge and jury. When the confession or incriminating statement is offered in evidence and the issue of voluntariness is raised, the trial judge should exclude the jury and hear the evidence. If the trial judge concludes it was involuntarily given, he should exclude it. If he concludes it was the voluntary act of the defendant, he should admit it and then permit the jury to hear all the evidence as to the circumstances of the giving of the confession or statement, with instructions that it be given such weight as the jury may feel it is entitled to receive.

In short, voluntariness should be the only test for the court in determining admissibility, and the jury should be allowed to consider all the circumstances in weighing such voluntary confessions or statements of the accused.

Title II (of a crime-control bill under consideration in the Senate) would require the trial judge to take into consideration, in determining the issue of voluntariness, all the circumstances surrounding the giving of the confession or incriminating statement of the accused. Such circumstances would include the length of time between arrest and arraignment; whether the defendant knew the nature of the offense with which he was charged or suspected; whether he was advised or knew that he was not required to make any statement, and that such statement could be used against him; whether the defendant had been advised prior to questioning of his right to the assistance of counsel, and whether he was without the assistance of counsel when questioned and when giving his statement or confession.

The trial judge would have to take into consideration these factors, together with any others which have relevance in determining voluntariness. This procedure would provide a workable yardstick for the court, the jury, the accused, law-enforcement officers, and would protect the public interest. It would eminently be fair to the accused as well as to society.

U.S. News and World Report, May 20, 1968

WHY BRITAIN'S STREETS ARE SAFER THAN U.S.

Crime-ridden U.S. cities can learn something from Britain where street violence is relatively rare. Explanations offered by authorities include strict laws to control firearms, public support of the police, a traditional, deep-seated belief in law and order.

LONDON. As crime and violence soar to record levels in the U.S., a search is under way to find out why the streets of European cities are so much safer than those of most American communities.

Police authorities on both sides of the Atlantic have explored the differences, seeking answers.

They start with the fact - a matter of record - that it is safe for both men and women to walk most of the streets of Europe, even at night.

There are, in Europe, virtually no crimes "for kicks" - such as slugging and robbing old people - which are often committed by teen-agers and drug addicts in America.

Statistics tell the story. In London, which is most frequently cited as an example, there are about the same number of murders in a year as there are in a month in New York.

Almost unheard of are murders of innocent persons, unknown to their assailants, at home or on the street.

Rape, too, is comparatively uncommon. There are about one tenth the number of such crimes in London as in each of three U.S. cities, New York, Chicago and Los Angeles.

In all types of assaults on people, London is three times as safe as New York. The same kind of relative safety on the streets is reflected throughout England and Wales, where crimes of violence against the person accounted for only 2 per cent of all crime in 1965.

Crime is, in fact, decreasing in London. Offenses were 3 per cent lower in 1966 than in 1965.

Law-enforcement officials, studying the trends in both countries in recent years, have come to these conclusions about the contrasts:

- Britain has a background of settling disputes by mediation and court action. America, on the other hand, has a long tradition of violence which perpetuates itself. Americans have been used to fighting - and possessing guns - ever since "the West was won" by force.
- Policemen are respected in Britain, whereas they are often disliked in the U.S. British policemen, who are unarmed, still walk their beats in most cases and know personally the people in their neighborhoods. This makes the public more co-operative with the police than is generally the case in America.

- Police work is more centralized in Britain making it easier to keep up with criminals.
- Britons in many cases consider themselves "citizen policemen" and notify police when something seems amiss. Many even help to corner criminals. This is in direct contrast to the situation in many American cities where some people who "don't want to get involved" will not even telephone for police when they see a murder being committed - as has happened in New York.
- Britain is largely homogeneous - with a nonwhite population of only 2 per cent. America is more mixed racially, with cultures that sometimes clash, producing violence.
- There is more leniency toward criminals by U.S. courts. Officials of Scotland Yard, Britain's top police organization, believe this is a major factor in encouraging crime in the U.S.

"Criminals in America think they can get away with it even if they are caught - but they don't here," says one of Britain's top police officials.

Role of tradition. Many believe Britain's comparatively low crime figures are largely the result of centuries of trust in law and order.

"When people get into trouble in this country," says a high-ranking British police official, "they usually try politeness first, their lawyers second, calling a policeman third, and violence last. My impression is that Americans often do just the reverse."

Another marked British trait is cooperating to the fullest with the police. In many cases, private citizens have actively joined in the pursuit of fleeing suspects. The risks of doing so are not as great as they are in America, since most British crooks are not armed, but such action still entails danger. In a recent bank robbery in London, a passerby who ran after a bandit was shot to death by the criminal. Yet the practice continues - and is of invaluable help, police say, in curbing crime.

Many Britons blame the widespread possession of firearms by Americans as a major cause of U.S. violence. Roy Jenkins, Chancellor of the Exchequer who formerly supervised law-enforcement work as Home Secretary says:

"I think that violence still plays a greater part in American crime than it does in British crime, although it is growing fast here. The use of firearms is much more automatic in America, both on the side of those who are enforcing the law and on the side of those who are breaking the law."

British laws rigidly restrict the use of firearms. A farmer who wants a rifle to control vermin, for example, must prove to the police that the vermin are present in his fields and that the weapon will not be used to endanger human life.

The investigation process usually involves a visit by police to the fields and to neighboring farms. It also entails a check on the applicant's police record, if there is any.

An application for a pistol is even more severely controlled. Ordinarily, the applicant must belong to a rifle and pistol club and must assure police that the weapon will be kept under lock and key when not being used under proper supervision.

Result of these tough laws: Police estimate that only about one in a thousand British criminals possesses a gun - almost always bought illegally from an unscrupulous dealer. The penalty for armed robbery with intent to commit a felony is 14 years' imprisonment.

Says a leading British criminologist: "There's no question in my mind that tougher laws of this kind would help to cut the crime rate in America."

In Britain's tightly knit and racially united society, there has been little growth of American-style criminal gangs - although the organization that committed the "great train robbery" of 1963 was a notable exception. Criminal acts in Britain are ordinarily the work of one or two men acting on their own.

Foreign influence. Police say the legalization of gambling in recent years has been accompanied by a slight increase in gang activity in Britain. Some American and Italian gangsters are said to have attempted to move into British crime, but these efforts reportedly have been largely thwarted by the police.

One weapon widely credited with slowing down organized crime in the country is the growing use of "regional crime squads." Composed of Britain's best detectives, these squads concentrate on following the activities of only a handful of major criminals in their areas. Watching them day and night, the police are often able to thwart a major crime.

Unlike America, where race is often an important factor in crime, Britain displays little evidence of any such trend. Says Roy Jenkins:

"Our race problem is very different from that in America. Our colored population consists almost entirely of new immigrants, and they have for the most part been fully employed."

Trouble ahead. Mr. Jenkins adds that Britain may begin to experience problems similar to those in the U.S. if second and third generation British Negroes find they are second-class citizens in a white society.

Already, there are signs of trouble ahead.

A number of Negro organizations, some advocating violence against white persons, have sprung up.

Among these groups is the Black Muslims, closely related to and copied after the U.S. organization of the same name.

Crime stemming from drug addiction is also said to be less of a problem than in America. A big reason for this is that registered drug addicts are permitted by law to buy drugs cheaply. U.S. addicts, on the other hand, sometimes resort to robbery to pay for illegally obtained drugs which cost \$100 a day or more.

A matter of size. Criminologists say another factor in controlling crime in Britain is the island's compact size and the centralization of police forces. Compared with about 40,000 police agencies in the U.S., there are fewer than 50 in Britain - and all are guided to a certain degree by the National Government.

Because of this, Britons argue, their police forces are more independent of local pressures than are many in the U.S.

Many also contend that British courts are tougher on criminals than American courts.

A teen-ager robbing a woman of her purse on a street here, for instance, would probably be sentenced to about four years in jail.

Britain in recent months has introduced a number of modern methods and new equipment to increase its effectiveness in crime fighting. Among these are walkie-talkies supplied to policemen walking their beats, and closed-circuit television cameras scanning shopping centers for pickpockets and shoplifters.

But British authorities are convinced that their biggest weapon will continue to be close liaison with a public dedicated to a respect for law and order.

-----U.S. News and World Report, April 8, 1968

VIOLENCE IN MINNEAPOLIS:

A CHRONOLOGY

Murders in the United States increased 16 per cent in the first quarter of 1968 over the like period of 1967, the FBI reported last week. Other crimes of violence showed increases, too. Rapes were up 19 per cent and aggravated assaults rose 13 per cent.

The Minnesota Crime Bureau also issued statistics last week. Statewide, violent crimes such as murder, manslaughter, rape and aggravated assault showed a decline of 22 per cent for the first four months of the year.

The Associated Press reported 196 gunshot deaths in the nation in the week that ended midnight June 23; 113 of them were homicides.

Minneapolis Police Department records through May show 17 cases of murder and non-negligent manslaughter, up from 6 a year earlier; 51 cases of rape, compared with 56 a year before, and 1,017 assault reports, up from 861.

Those are the statistics on violence in the city, state and nation. They tell part of the story, but they don't tell the nature of the violence that occurs around us day by day.

The following report is an attempt to describe violence in Minneapolis in one week - the week that ended midnight June 23 - as reported to Minneapolis police. The list includes numerous assaults, many of them the result of domestic quarrels; rapes, and robberies where violence took place or the victim was threatened with a knife, gun or other potentially lethal object.

Capt. Carl Johnson, head of the department's Homicide, Sex and Robbery Division, described the week as "close to average."

MONDAY, JUNE 17

Assault - 5 a.m. A 22-year-old man said he was struck with a board in which a nail was imbedded. His accused assailant said the complainant went to his apartment near the downtown area and threatened him with a knife.

Rape - 1 p.m. An unidentified man forced his way into a south Minneapolis home and raped a 22-year-old mother.

Assault - 4:30 p.m. The manager of a Lake St. store was slightly injured in a fight with two other men who were in the store.

Assault - 5:40 p.m. A truck driver was stopped for a traffic light on Olson Hwy. when the driver of a car in front got out of the car, exchanged words with the truck driver and struck him in the mouth, breaking his upper plate.

Assault - 6 p.m. Two 19-year-old women fought after an argument near W. 25th St. and Lyndale Ave. So.

Assault - 6 p.m. A 12-year-old boy said two other boys jumped him near E. Lake of the Isles Blvd., kicked him in the head and hit him in the face.

Robbery - 9:40 p.m. A man walking near Portland Av. and E. Lake St. was confronted by 8 or 10 youths, who took his watch and threatened to "blow his head off."

Assault - 11:30 p.m. A 34-year-old woman said she was kicked repeatedly while trying to break up an argument between two men in north Minneapolis.

TUESDAY, JUNE 18

Assault - 12:50 a.m. Roland A. Weidt, 50, an Allied Stores Corp. executive from Greenwich, Conn., was hit or pushed and fell, striking his head, after exchanging words with another man outside a Leamington Hotel bar. Weidt later died. A grand jury did not indict the other man.

Assault - 7:30 a.m. Two North Side men fought after arguing over one man's ex-wife. One man was cut slightly.

Assault - 12:45 p.m. A 46-year-old man said he was sleeping in some weeds near the downtown area when someone threw a sharp object at him, resulting in a four-inch cut on his head.

Assault - 2:10 p.m. A 15-year-old girl was walking near Olson Hwy. Five girls shouted and cursed at her, then knocked her down and kicked her, she said.

Assault - 4:45 p.m. A 57-year-old man said he was struck and knocked down when he went to a downtown office to collect money from his assailant.

Assault - 5 p.m. A 10-year-old girl, on her way home from a north Minneapolis Park said she was knocked down by a second girl on whom she had accidentally fallen at the park swimming pool.. The second girl's friends also were involved.

Assault - 5:40 p.m. A 14-year-old boy was walking across a south Minneapolis park when seven boys walked up and asked for money or cigarettes. When he refused they knocked him down, hit him and kicked him.

Assault - 5:50 p.m. A 20-year-old man said he was in a south Minneapolis park when another man approached and asked for a cigarette and a dollar. When the first man refused, the second man and three companions began to strike him. They let the victim leave after he gave them a dollar.

Assault - 9:40 p.m. A 21-year-old man argued with the caretaker of an apartment building near Hennepin Av. and W. Lake St. The complainant said the caretaker hit him with a pool cue.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 19

Robbery - 1 a.m. A 27-year-old man said he met two women at a Cedar Av. bar and then invited him to a party at a south Minneapolis apartment building. When the two women later left the car, two men appeared and robbed him at gunpoint of a watch, lighter and \$120.

Assault - 2 a.m. Two men approached a 17-year-old girl who was walking in a residential area near Lyndale Av. S. When she refused to have a drink with the men - both strangers - they hit her in the jaw and throat and walked on.

Assault - 2:25 a.m. A 26-year-old man was pulled from his car near E. Lake of the Isles Blvd. and hit by two men.

Assault - 11:30 a.m. A 38-year-old south Minneapolis woman was struck in the head with a blunt object during a fight with her husband, who was arrested.

Assault - 2:30 p.m. A 19-year-old youth said he was threatened with a gun near Franklin Av. after an argument with a man who appeared to be tampering with the youth's car.

Assault - 2:45 p.m. A 23-year-old woman was beaten about the head by a man in north Minneapolis.

Assault - 4:10 p.m. Two south Minneapolis women argued after a fight between their children. One woman said the other slapped her and pulled her hair.

Assault- 5:45 p.m. A cab driver and a woman passenger argued over the fare. The driver told the police the woman hit him in the mouth. She said he hit her in the face.

Rape - 10 p.m. A 24-year-old deaf mute woman was accosted by two men behind a laundromat at Franklin and Hennepin Aves., dragged into some nearby bushes, disrobed and raped.

Assault - 10:45 p.m. A 24-year-old woman in central Minneapolis said she was beaten by her boyfriend during an argument.

THURSDAY, JUNE 20

Robbery - 12:05 a.m. A 24-year-old woman walking in a south Minneapolis neighborhood was grabbed by a teen-aged youth and dragged into an alley. As she fell down he fled with her purse.

Assault and robbery - 12:15 a.m. A man walking near Cedar Av. was beaten up and his wallet taken by another man.

Robbery - 2:40 a.m. Three men, holding handkerchiefs over their faces, entered a Hiawatha Av. motel and took \$273 from the night clerk. One man had a gun.

Assault - General Hospital doctors told police that a 2-year-old boy covered with bruises had been brought into the hospital for treatment Wednesday night by his mother and stepfather. The parents said he fell from a chair. Police said the boy had been brought in under similar circumstances in March.

Assault and robbery - 9 p.m. A middle-aged woman said she was asleep in her central Minneapolis home when an intruder struck her in the face, knocking her unconscious. He then took a ring, two watches and cash, she said.

Attempted assault-robbery - 9:30 p.m. A 17-year-old girl got off a bus in south Minneapolis. As she walked up the street, the driver of a car jumped out, stuck a knife in her back and demanded money as he pushed her into an alley and began to unzip her dress. He fled when she said she had no money.

Assault and robbery - 11:30 p.m. A middle-aged woman said she was walking home in south Minneapolis when a man grabbed her, threw her to the ground, attempted to rape her and then took her purse.

Assault - 11:50 p.m. A 21-year-old man was waiting for a bus on the Nicollet Mall when a youth jumped out of a car, challenged him to a fight, then struck him in the head with a bottle.

Assault - midnight. An off-duty police officer asked three occupants of a car that was blocking an alley to move so he could drive through. The three attacked him and continued to beat him even after he identified himself and fired a warning shot. Eventually help arrived and the three were arrested.

FRIDAY, JUNE 21

Rape - 3 a.m. A 27-year-old north Minneapolis housewife was asleep when an intruder awoke her, threatened to kill her children, then raped her at knifepoint.

Assault - 10:30 a.m. A 15-year-old boy, walking in south Minneapolis, was attacked by four youths who beat him with a steel pipe.

Robbery - 11:30 a.m. An elderly E. Lake St store owner lost \$40 to a man who thrust a knife in his face and robbed the till.

Assault - 1 p.m. An attendant at a downtown parking lot was beaten when he tried to collect the parking fee from a customer.

Assault - 3 p.m. A north Minneapolis man said his neighbor threatened him with a gun during an argument.

Assault - 7:30 p.m. A young woman was severely beaten by her husband in their south Minneapolis home.

Assault - 9 p.m. A woman walking on a south Minneapolis street was followed by a man who grabbed her. The assailant fled when another man came to her aid.

Assault - 10:15 p.m. A half-dozen youths were involved in a disturbance at a dance hall in the University of Minnesota area. The fracas resulted in injuries to several persons.

Assault - 11:15 p.m. A man sitting with a woman at a downtown bar said a stranger tried to pick a fight, cursed him and then slugged him.

Assault and robbery - 11:45 p.m. A Pipestone, Minn., man said he lost his wallet and \$65 after a fight with a group of persons in a downtown bar. He said he fled in his car as a volley of shots was fired at him.

Assault - 11:55 p.m. Police patrolling W. Lake St. saw two men attacking a youth in a doorway. Police apprehended one of the men.

Rape - 11:55 p.m. A 20-year-old girl said she was returning to her central Minneapolis home when three men in a car offered her a ride. She said she accepted, and later in a western suburb two of them raped her at knifepoint.

SATURDAY, JUNE 22

Assault - 12:55 a.m. A man, his sister and two friends were sitting in a car after leaving a Lake St. bar when a man approached and struck the man and his sister.

Attempted robbery - 1:05 a.m. A passenger stuck a metal pipe in the back of a taxi driver and demanded money. The driver jumped from the cab, and while the passenger and two companions were trying to get out of the cab before it crashed the driver re-entered the taxi, hit the brakes and the gas, dumping the three out onto the street.

Rape - 2 a.m. A 27-year-old woman left a Lake St. restaurant and was entering her car when a man who had been seated next to her at the counter commandeered the car, drove it, slapped the woman, raped her. Offered her a job as a call girl, then got out.

Rape - 2 a.m. An 18-year-old woman walking home along Franklin Av. refused a ride offered by two strangers. They forced her into the car, drove her to a house and raped her.

Assault and robbery - 3:25 a.m. A couple walking to their car in downtown parking lot was attacked by a man and woman, who beat them and took the first woman's purse.

Assault and robbery - 3:45 a.m. A man standing outside his apartment house was struck from behind, knocked to the ground and kicked in the face by one youth while another went through his pockets, taking his watch and money.

Rape - 1:45 p.m. A high school girl was raped while walking along Minnehaha Creek. Two girls, 12 and 14, witnessed the attack.

Assault - 3:10 p.m. During a domestic quarrel, a 40-year-old housewife who was trying to hit her husband with a bottle was cut when he threw a record player at her, shattering the bottle.

Assault - 8:15 p.m. In an argument over burned chicken, a north Minneapolis man threw hot grease at his wife. She slashed him three times with a knife.

Assault - 8:30 p.m. An 11-year-old boy was walking through an alley near E. Lake St. when two youths got out of a car and knocked him unconscious.

Assault - 8:50 p.m. A man in a central Minneapolis house was found with numerous stab wounds in his head. Children at the scene said a woman living in the building had stabbed him with a large knife.

Robbery - 8:50 p.m. A man brandishing a gun robbed a downtown parking attendant of cash, a radio and a watch.

Assault - 9 p.m. A woman who had been refused another drink at a Chicago Av. bar threw bottles at the bartender, cutting him.

Assault - 9:25 p.m. A 30-year-old woman said she invited a man to her north Minneapolis home and was beaten by him when she asked him to stop listening in on a telephone conversation. The man struck her 2-year-old son and left.

Robbery - 11:15 p.m. A south Minneapolis gas station attendant was struck on the head by four youths who entered the station and turned off the lights. The attendant managed to turn on the lights and the youths fled.

Assault - 11:35 p.m. A 48-year-old man and his girl friend argued at her home and she shot him in the shoulder with a .38-caliber revolver.

Assault - 11:40 p.m. A 21-year-old man and his girl friend were sitting in Loring Park when a man attacked them. The couple fell into the lake, and the assailant fled.

Rape - 11:55 p.m. An 18-year-old woman attending a party at a south Minneapolis house refused the advances of her host and was raped by the host and another man.

SUNDAY, JUNE 23

Assault and robbery - 12:45 a.m. A man said he was followed from a south Minneapolis bar by two men, who attacked him and took a billfold with \$90.

Assault and robbery - 7:45 a.m. A 55-year-old man, walking in north Minneapolis, was struck and knocked down by a man who had asked directions. The assailant took \$25 from the man's pockets.

Assault - 10:15 a.m. A 25-year-old woman said she was struck with a blunt object during an argument in a north Minneapolis home. Other persons involved told police a knife and a gun were brandished in the argument.

Attempted rape - 5:15 p.m. A 16-year-old girl said she was walking on E. Hennepin Av. when a man grabbed her from behind, stripped off some of her clothes and held her for about 30 minutes while taking indecent liberties with her. She said she was not sure if she was raped.

Assault - 6:15 p.m. A youth fishing under the 10th Avenue bridge said a man walked up to him, pointed a .22-caliber revolver at him and struck him on the cheek.

Assault - 8:10 p.m. A 57-year-old man walking in south Minneapolis was hit by rocks thrown by three boys, aged about 11 or 12.

-----Taken from the Minneapolis Star and Tribune

RACE AND CRIME

It is the more intensive reporting of acts by Negroes that creates the see-saw in crime statistics according to Dr. Virginia M. Love, medical director of the Lakeland Guidance Center in Pompton Lakes.

The white man who beats his wife gets psychiatric help, the Negro is prosecuted she believes. A white housewife who has shoplifted thousands of dollars of merchandise is referred to Dr. Love's clinic and helped back to health, she says, when a Negro woman would have been sent to jail.

Dr. Love is convinced that there is much more non-appropriate dealing with black offenders than with white. She quotes Dr. Harvey Bluestone, who in developing treatment programs for prison inmates, notes that out of 18 persons he saw in death row only one was white. The others were all Negro and Puerto Rican.

She told us a story from her childhood in the South which had greatly affected her as the daughter of a Negro minister. A white man had killed a black man, was found guilty and sentenced to jail for one year. Even today, Dr. Love says, there are innumerable indications in criminal records that black life is cheap.

This point is brought into prominence by President Johnson's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. "From arrest records," the report reads, "probation reports and prison statistics, a portrait of the offender emerges that progressively high-lights the disadvantaged character of his life. The offender at the end of the road in prison is likely to be a member of the lowest social and economic groups in the country, poorly educated and perhaps unemployed, unmarried, reared in a broken home, and to have a prior criminal record." More Negroes than whites are disadvantaged.

It is the ghetto, not the race, that makes crime, we are told by psychiatrists, sociologists and criminologists. A few experts quote damning statistics, but most say damn the statistics, because they agree with social psychologist Kenneth B. Clark, author of "The Dark Ghetto," who said, "What are generally labeled as the facts of the ghetto are not necessarily synonymous with the truth of the ghetto. In fact, there are times when one feels that facts tend to obscure truth."

They also agree with Donald E. J. MacNamara, professor of correction administration at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice, City University of New York and past president of the American Society of Criminology. "The seemingly higher incidence of Negro and minority group criminality reflected in official crime statistics is an artifact of racial discrimination, poverty and ignorance of the law."

Psychiatrist Ralph S. Banay, M.D., director of the Civic Youth Center, Brooklyn, N.Y., says, "There is a definite relationship between mental health and crime, between poverty and crime, but not between race and crime. It is the ghetto, not the race that makes crime," Dr. Banay told us. "It is the ghetto that must be treated, the ghetto that is the patient, the ghetto that calls for the skills of the newly emerging group of social psychiatrists." Further confirmation comes from Negro psychiatrist Frantz Fanon, who died at the age of 36, but not before he had written "The Wretched of the Earth" a book that has become highly influential in black communities. "There is," Fanon wrote, "a regular and important mental pathology which is the direct product of oppression." How does one "cure" this pathology? Fanon, seeking a long range solution, wrote, "We must work out new concepts and try to set afoot a new man."

Those who rely on crime statistics, as does William M. Kephart of the University of Pennsylvania, believe the answer lies in internal controls and calls for a boot strap moral uplift. Overlooking what Dr. Love told us, one is always dependent on the social and cultural setting, and the assumption that the disenfranchised did not disenfranchise themselves.

Statistics on the victims of crime show that most serious crimes against one's person, aggravated assaults, take place within the victim's own home by someone familiar to the victim. Murder on the street committed by strangers is clearly not in the picture that emerges from these statistics.

There is no discernible group of persons whose personality and behavioral traits predispose it to general criminality.

Ghetto Breeds Crime

Poverty and the ghetto are the breeders of criminals. The Negro is now the principal prisoner of the ghetto. As W.E. DuBois said in "Dusk of Dawn," "It is difficult to let others see the full psychological meaning of caste segregation. One talks on evenly and logically, but notices that the passing throng does not even turn its head. Some thick sheet of invisible but horribly tangible plate glass is between them and the world. Then the people within may become hysterical. They may scream and hurl themselves against the barriers, hardly realizing in their bewilderment that they are screaming in a vacuum. They may even, here and there, break through in blood and disfigurement, and find themselves faced by a horrified, implacable and quite overwhelming mob of people frightened for their own very existence."

As Clarke has pointed out, the Negro believes himself to be confined to the low status, the ghetto, and, in fact, usually is.

What the statistics do not reveal is the individual's struggle for self-esteem, his pretense at difference of defiance of his fate, his vulnerability to hurt, his sense of rejection, his fears, his angers, his sense of aloneness.

Rage spills over into violence. Riots are not a Negro prerogative any more than individual crimes are. The early labor riots, in which private industrial, mining and railroad police took the law into their own hands, involved whites on both sides. Historically, three major inter-racial disorders occurred as early as 1917, 1919 and 1921.

In the first of these, which occurred in East St. Louis, whites, inflamed by the heavy influx of "cheap Negro labor" into the area, attacked first. An investigating committee found nine whites and 25 Negroes known dead, but noted that other Negroes had probably died in the fires that resulted from the riots. Property damage amounted to over \$3 million.

The second major race riot occurred after a Negro boy slipped across an unseen Chicago line separating the races on the bathing beach at 29th Street and Lake Michigan. After he climbed onto a raft in the white section rocks were thrown and the boy was drowned. The sequence of recriminations is a bloody tale of riot ending with the death of 15 whites and 23 Negroes.

The third disaster occurred in Tulsa, Oklahoma. A white mob, enraged by the efforts of some Negroes to protect a threatened lynching victim, engaged in a mass assault upon the Negro section, most of which was burned during the course of extended rioting. It is not clear exactly how many persons were killed, but some reports listed 25 whites and

60 Negroes. Property damage was so great that a square mile area of the Negro section was almost completely destroyed. "Embroided in such conflicts," Professor Marvin E. Wolfgang maintains, "Negroes have not been entirely peaceable; but down to, and including, the riots of our own day, the injuries inflicted on them by illegal acts of whites have surely exceeded the harm caused by Negro resorts to violence."

Those forced to live in rat-infested tenements see a different life on T.V., and they live in their dreams and hopes in some small part in that T.V. world. They are bombarded by the myths of the American middle class, but they know their fate is not the common fate of other Americans. There is a powerlessness all Negroes share.

The delinquent sees his only hope in aggressive defiance, even if it is self-destructive. He is rejected and he rejects in turn. As psychiatrist Maurice B. Linden, M.D., director of mental health in Philadelphia, tells us, the Negro youth he worked with in a rehabilitation program often said; "We want someone to want us - if not our mothers, at least the police." Dr. Linden says they sought help, they were eager for it and held out a great deal of promise.

"I Have A Right To Live"

One Negro drug addict said, "The average young guy I know doesn't have a job. They just don't have anything to do. When you see us down here in Tombs, we're here for robbing and breaking in. Why do we do it? We have to live. I go down to the employment office and I can't get a job. They keep me waiting there all day, but I can't get a job. Still, I have a right to live."

The riots, primitive, angry, vengeful, are a protest against powerlessness.

During periods of Negro protest, Dr. Love says, the cities were free of delinquency which decreased almost to the point of vanishing.

By Flora R. Schreiber and
Melvin Herman
Published in Science Digest,
July 1968

ANOTHER LEAP IN U.S. CRIME

WASHINGTON. Serious crime in the U.S. has taken a big jump once again.

In the first quarter of 1968, the FBI reports, crimes of all types climbed 17 per cent over the January-March period of 1967.

The biggest jump came in cities of more than 25,000 population - an 18 per cent increase. The suburbs followed with 16 per cent. Rural areas had a 10 per cent increase.

Northeastern States showed the greatest regional increase - 21 per cent. Western States followed with 16 per cent. Both North Central and Southern States had 15 per cent.

All seven categories of crimes that the FBI keeps tabs on showed increases. Murders were up 16 per cent, forcible rape 19 per cent, robbery 24 per cent, aggravated assault 13 per cent, burglary 15 per cent, larceny 19 per cent, auto theft 17 per cent.

For the past six years, crimes during the first quarter have increased in this fashion -

1963 over 1962.....	7 per cent
1964 over 1963.....	19 per cent
1965 over 1964.....	2 per cent
1966 over 1965.....	6 per cent
1967 over 1966.....	20 per cent
1968 over 1967.....	17 per cent

The FBI report noted specifically the sharp increases in robbery, which it called the "bellwether of crime."

Said the report: "Nationwide, armed robbery where any weapon is used rose 26 per cent and made up 62 per cent of all robbery offenses."

In America's 10 biggest cities, here's how totals for violent crimes in 1968's first quarter compared with such crimes in the same period of 1967:

		Murder	Rape	Robbery	Assault
New York.	1967.	162.	.436.	.7,995.	.6,130
	1968.	213.	.431.	11,119.	.5,901
Chicago	1967.	139.	.324.	.4,187.	.2,642
	1968.	134.	.245.	.4,313.	.2,712
Los Angeles	1967.	52.	.359.	.2,569.	.2,429
	1968.	68.	.416.	.2,740.	.3,166
Philadelphia.	1967.	55.	.104.	.752.	.770
	1968.	56.	.106.	.979.	.877
Detroit.	1967.	58.	.175.	.2,791.	.882
	1968.	88.	.226.	.2,672.	.1,053
Baltimore	1967.	53.	.76.	.1,178.	.1,166
	1968.	58.	.152.	.2,043.	.1,871
Houston	1967.	54.	.47.	.916.	.562
	1968.	48.	.73.	.1,063.	.691
Cleveland	1967.	36.	.40.	.995.	.260
	1968.	32.	.38.	.795.	.265
Washington.	1967.	44.	.42.	.1,333.	.717
	1968.	41.	.53.	.1,777.	.705
St Louis	1967.	43.	.53.	.625.	.451
	1968.	38.	.85.	.845.	.593

CRIME PROBLEM - WHY IT'S NOT SOLVED

Assault . . . robbery . . . rape . . . murder - the spread of outlawry is setting off alarms nationwide. Is rampant crime getting out of control? Law-enforcement officers warn that is a real danger - and tell what has to be done to restore order.

Crime, increasing every year, has just set another new record in the U.S. There were 3.75 million major crimes committed in this country in 1967. That was an increase of half a million - or nearly 16 per cent over 1966. Even more startling to Americans is this: Crime, since 1960, has jumped 88 per cent - almost doubling in seven years. The U.S. population in that same period, has grown only 10 per cent. This means that crime is going up nearly nine times as fast as the population.

Demand for action. The American public for years has been clamoring for action, demanding an end to this constant rise in crime. President Johnson, in his state-of-the-union address on January 17, drew his loudest applause from Congress with this statement: "The American people have had enough of rising crime and lawlessness." Why, then, has this steady climb been permitted? Why, after so many years, has the crime problem in this country not been solved? Is there an answer to this situation?

To get the views of experts on crime - its causes and its cures - members of the staff of "U.S. News & World Report" talked to law-enforcement officials in key cities across the nation. These officials blame the failure to solve the crime problem on many things:

- not enough policemen - especially those with adequate training
- public treatment of police, which makes it difficult to recruit policemen in the numbers needed
- lack of modern police equipment
- court decisions that hamper police investigations of crimes
- leniency of courts in punishment of criminals
- racial agitation
- "permissiveness" in dealing with youngsters in homes and schools

One view stressed by many officials was summed up by Evelle J. Younger, district attorney for Los Angeles County, in these words: "The real problem is that we Americans have just never been sufficiently aroused or determined to take the steps necessary to control crime. Before we win this war on crime, it is going to require that all responsible citizens get involved - to the same extent, for example, that citizens got involved in World War II. So I think the real answer to the crime problem is simply public attitude. When people have really had enough of crime, then they are going to demand that their police and public officials take vigorous action. And the people are going to support that vigorous action. Then the pendulum will swing back. The trend in crime will be reversed. I believe that the winds of change are now blowing. I think people are fed up. And I think you are going to see a stiffening of attitude on the part of both officials and citizens in enforcing the law."

Public help wanted. From Edward V. Hanrahan, U.S. attorney in Chicago, came this: "Beefing up police departments, paying policemen more money, getting higher quality policemen - these things may help, but they are not the total answer. There has to be an aroused, concerned, interested public, willing to assist and inform law officials. There has to be an attitude on the part of the people that you don't buy stolen goods, make a phone bet on your favorite football team, or try to buy your way out of a traffic

ticket, because that just makes an official more easily corruptible when he is confronted with a bribe offer from a burglar."

Ralph F. Turner, acting director at Michigan State University's school of police administration and public safety, said: "Our effectiveness in controlling crime depends on how much police surveillance the American people wants to tolerate."

Omaha's Police Chief Richard R. Andersen put it this way: "Crime is not a police problem. It is the people's problem - and they had better start becoming more aware of it. This problem is getting closer to home all the time, and the odds are increasing that the average person will be a victim of crime."

Earl Morris of Columbus, Ohio, president of the American Bar Association, recently cited statistics to show that the risk of becoming a crime victim has increased by 50 per cent since 1960, and that criminal acts strike one of every five American families each year. He said: "What is needed is the development of a monumental dedication to the job of cutting through public apathy and educating the citizenry to the threat that confronts us."

Cost of crime: 20 billions. A national crime commission estimated last year that the economic impact of crime in this country exceeds 20 billion dollars in a year. In 1967, according to the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reports, major crimes were committed in the U.S. at the rate of seven every hour - or one every 8.5 seconds. On the yearly average, there was a murder every 41 minutes, a robbery every 2.7 minutes, an aggravated assault every 2 minutes, a burglary every 20 seconds, a larceny of \$50 or more every 31 seconds and an auto theft every 40 seconds.

President Johnson on January 17 submitted to Congress a request for 100 million dollars to help State and local governments improve law enforcement. He also asked for some new anticrime laws. The President's program is set out in more detail later in this section.

Most officials questioned by "U.S. News & World Report" welcomed the prospect of federal aid and said the President's program would be helpful. Some, however, questioned whether the Johnson plan goes far enough. Milwaukee Mayor Henry W. Maier said: "One hundred million dollars is a drop in the bucket. It doesn't begin to strike at the area of greatest need."

Senator John L. McClellan (Dem.), of Arkansas, said the President's program "holds much promise for long-range improvements, but it will obviously be some four or five years before any substantial benefits can accrue from this." Also, Mr. McClellan told the Senate on January 18, the Johnson anticrime bill should be broadened to:

- permit police use of wiretaps and other electronic eavesdropping
- make confessions admissible as evidence if the trial judge finds they were given voluntarily.

The Senator said that as a result of Supreme Court decisions restricting police questioning, "self-confessed criminals are being released almost daily."

Complaints about courts are voiced by several law-enforcement officials. District Attorney Henry M. Wade of Dallas County, Texas, said solutions of crimes in Dallas have declined due to recent decisions. Russell G. Oswald, chairman of the New York State board of parole, said: "It certainly seems to me that court rulings have made it more difficult to enforce the law. Police officers with whom I speak uniformly believe this." Cleveland's Police Chief Michael J. Blackwell said: "Recent court decisions encourage crime and are very discouraging for police." Some officials indicated agreement with this

view of Michigan State Police Commissioner Frederick E. Davis: "Court decisions haven't made law enforcement any easier. But in some ways that is good - it has made for better police officers."

There is criticism of courts for being too lenient toward convicted criminals. U.S. Attorney Hanrahan said: "Many sentences are way too lenient. They don't teach the defendant a lesson or pose a warning to the rest of the community." Mayor Louie Welch of Houston criticized lenient bonding of felons, particularly of repeaters, and a generous parole system. He said: "A great amount of crime is committed by those already out on bond for another offense. Then there is the long delay between apprehension and trial. Then there is usually a parole after a short term of the sentence is served. All of this leaves the citizen at the mercy of the criminal - and he has no mercy." Judge Tim C. Murphy of the General Sessions Court in Washington, D.C., blamed crowded court dockets for much of the leniency. He said: "There is an attitude that these cases must be moved through. Charges are reduced day after day . . . What they do on some of these General Sessions cases will make your hair stand on end." The judge cited cases of criminals with long records, caught red-handed, having their charges reduced and finding themselves quickly on the street again. A judge in a suburb of Washington complained of "incompetence among the young lawyers in the prosecutor's office and incompetence in the police department." He explained: "This is no reflection on their integrity, but the compensation doesn't attract the best men, and they are not properly trained." The same complaint - that it is hard to get good law-enforcement officers - is heard almost everywhere.

Needed: 50,000 policemen. Crime-commission studies indicate that in the U.S. as a whole there are 50,000 vacancies on police rosters. Mayor Arthur Naftalin of Minneapolis told "U.S. News & World Report": "All over the country, police departments are undermanned. There isn't a department that isn't having trouble recruiting. More money will help. But it is more important to have really trained people than additional manpower." Pay is not the only difficulty. William E. Korwan, Jr., superintendent of New York State police, said this: "A second problem is the public attitude toward police. People are not willing to expose themselves to treatment which they consider abusive."

Does crime pay? Among law-enforcement officials there is wide agreement on this: If crime is to be curbed, potential criminals must be convinced that "crime does not pay." Milton G. Rector of New York, executive director of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, pointed out that according to studies by the President's crime mission: "Less than 21 per cent of crimes reported to police are cleared by arrest - and less than 6 per cent in convictions. So it appears that crime does pay." Mayor Joseph L. Alioto of San Francisco summed up one widely expressed view with this statement: "Crime must be fought on two fronts: First, by the swift apprehension and vigorous prosecution of offenders. Secondly by attacking the root causes of crime - such as joblessness and poor education." Another view expressed by many officials was put by Los Angeles District Attorney Younger in these words: "The President's crime commission took the position that if you eliminate poverty, illiteracy and unemployment, you automatically eliminate crime. Well, I believe that while it is important to eliminate these problems, we can't wait for social reforms to take place. We've got to take immediately effective steps to prevent and control crime now."

CRIME IN U.S. IS UP 88 PER CENT IN 7 YEARS - RISING NEARLY 9 TIMES AS FAST AS POPULATION

	1960	1967*	INCREASE
ALL MAJOR CRIMES IN U.S.	2,000,990	3,757,300	88%
POPULATION OF U.S.	180,684,000	199,118,000	10%

Crime By Types -

Murders	9,000	12,700	41%
Forcible rapes	16,860	27,100	61%
Robberies	104,730	194,800	86%
Aggravated assaults	152,000	252,700	66%
Burglaries	886,500	1,589,500	79%
Larcenies of \$50 or more	506,200	1,028,800	103%
Auto thefts	325,700	651,700	100%

* 1967 crime figures are estimates based on official figures for first 9 months of year.

Source: FBI Uniform Crime Reports

Article from U.S. News and World Report, Feb. 5, 1968

TRAGEDY OF NATION'S CAPITAL:
A STORY OF CRIME AND FEAR

The capital of the U.S. is a city in trouble. Is there danger that it may "wither and die" in a climate of crime, violence and racial bitterness? The recent record is grim. Alarms are being sounded by businessmen and officials.

"Tragic" is the word that is beginning to be used to describe conditions in Washington D.C., the nation's capital and center of the non-Communist world.

Fear has become a real element in Washington life. Crime is rising at a rate higher than in any other of the nation's large cities. In the wake of riots that devastated more than 20 acres of commercial area last April, merchants in the central city continue to be harassed by hoodlums.

Race vs. race. Racial tensions are high in spite of all-out efforts for integration. Negroes make up more than 65 per cent of the city's population of about 800,000. A recent example of the race problem:

A Negro organization - the Black United Front - embracing many groups and including the vice chairman of the city council - approved a resolution describing as "justifiable homicide" the killing of one white policeman and the wounding of another by Negroes they were attempting to arrest as robbery suspects.

An editorial in "The Washington Post" on July 16 said that "Washington is being split in two by racial problems." The "Post" also asserted:

"The hard fact is that in the District of Columbia a policeman is looked upon as an enemy, to be defeated one way or another, by a substantial part of the people he is attempting to serve. Given this climate, the black radical - who wants to provoke violence in hopes he can bring down the existing governmental structure - has an easy time. He can play on that sentiment in numberless ways. Today, in the District, he is pulling out all the stops."

Barely a year ago, a white superintendent of the city schools who once had been acclaimed for desegregating the school system was forced to quit under fire from Negroes. His white successor is threatened with dismissal six months after taking office.

The school population is more than 92 per cent Negroes. The superintendent who was forced out last year describes the situation in the schools as "chaotic." Achievement levels keep declining, some educators say, even though expenditures per pupil are among the highest in the country.

Plea for Federal Funds. The city has an integrated government under a Negro mayor, Walter E. Washington. Mayor Washington told Congress recently that the capital of the richest nation the world has ever seen is "in desperate need of money."

The Federal Government supplied 70 million dollars in funds for running the city in the year that ended June 30. For the current year, Mayor Washington asks for a formula that would set the federal payment at 30 per cent of what the city collects in taxes. This would boost the federal contribution to 99.1 million. The mayor also is seeking additional taxes.

Mr. Washington says:

"It would be difficult to overstate the city's needs for a sharp and immediate increase in revenues."

The problem of crime keeps growing even though Washington has more police per 1,000 inhabitants than any other large city in the United States. Crime has worsened steadily since the April riots. At the same time, retail business has been hit harder and harder.

Retail stores report that their sales were off 21 million dollars in the three months that followed the April outbreaks. Many merchants say they foresee little hope for improvement.

Fear-ridden downtown. Retailers say that many people apparently are afraid to shop downtown because of the crime rate.

Stores are harassed by threats and acts of vandalism. A spokesman for one big department store tells of bomb and arson incidents. Another store - one of the largest in the area - has been a target, repeatedly, for juvenile vandals.

A leading downtown merchant reports that he had been compelled to build up his security force to the point where his store now has "more protection than some small cities."

Fear magnifies personnel problems for merchants. The president of a department store says an increasing number of husbands no longer allow their wives to go downtown to work.

Robbery: a casual trade. One businessman's experience with Washington's unabating crime wave is related in an interview with George B. Burrus, president of Peoples Drug Stores, Inc. at the end of this article. The company has 132 stores in the Washington area. In 1966 and 1967, the chain was the victim of 190 armed robberies and burglaries, with a direct loss of almost \$200,000.

Bank robberies are so commonplace that newspapers seldom give more than a few paragraphs to them.

Washington's climate of crime affects the lives of many thousands of people. For instance, nighttime bus service was discontinued for a time earlier this year after more than 200 holdups between January and May of bus drivers and, finally, the murder of a driver by a robber.

Busmen refused to work after dark until a plan was devised for riders without the exact fare to be given redeemable scrip instead of change.

The city at night has a deserted look. Theaters and restaurants have suffered a heavy loss of patronage. Taxis are scarce. Few cab drivers are willing to risk being robbed and shot or beaten.

Crime statistics tell a grim story. Between 1960 and 1965, the homicide rate in Washington doubled, the robbery rate tripled, the housebreaking rate more than doubled. In 1967, when the national crime increase was 16 per cent, Washington's was 34 per cent. In the month of May, 1968, the number of serious crimes was 41 per cent above the figure for May, 1967.

Search for an answer. Officials analyzing the crime problem point out that the largest increase in the city's population is among young Negroes, a large percentage of whom are unemployed. The President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia reported in December 1966:

"The perpetrators of serious crime in the District are most often young male Negroes. In the 1950-65 period, 80 per cent of all persons arrested for serious offenses were Negroes and 31 per cent were juveniles. "

The Commission also noted:

"One third of the city's population exists at little more than a subsistence level.

"One half of all large families are partially or completely indigent, one fourth of its adult Negro population is functionally illiterate, one fourth of all live births are illegitimate, one sixth of all housing units are overcrowded, and 25,000 housing units are in sufficiently bad condition to warrant removal."

Missing tourists. Tourism is the city's main source of revenue from non-government spending. This year, the rising crime rate, the April riots and the "poor people's campaign" with its militant Resurrection City have caused - so far - a decline of more than 40 million dollars in tourist spending. Hotel receipts were down more than 5 million dollars in April, May and June. Thousands of traditional trips to Washington by school classes in all parts of the country were canceled this year.

On July 15, the famed Willard Hotel suddenly closed. Blamed were declining revenues, especially since the April riots and the "poor people's campaign."

Danger on Capitol Hill. Some of Washington's most historic neighborhoods are shadowed by fear. A group of homeowners who live near the U.S. Capitol - many in expensively restored houses of great architectural charm - wrote to the White House:

"Prudence and fear have caused people of Capitol Hill to close their stores early, to fortify dwellings with grilles and higher fences, to stay off the streets after dark, to stay out of the parks, day or night, and to stay within their immediate neighborhoods."

Some Government buildings - including the State Department - have been turned into virtual fortresses.

Senator Robert C. Byrd (Dem.), of West Virginia, recently invited 26 Washington businessmen to his office so he could learn about their problems. He said 23 gave crime as their most serious concern.

The Senator quoted one merchant as saying this:

"The hoodlums in the streets won't let us do any business. They come into my stores and demand merchandise without payment. One makes believe that he is doing the purchasing, while the others are taking goods off the shelves and walking out, using threatening, very abusive language."

The real estate business is described as stagnant. Said William H. Everngam, Jr., executive vice president of the Washington Board of Realtors:

"People don't know which way to go. They are afraid of riots. They are worried about crime."

Flight of businesses to the suburbs, going on for years, was accelerated by the April riots and the subsequent increase in crime. Wallace B. Agnew, a real estate man, observes: "Not a day passes that some merchant doesn't call and ask if I have any vacancies in a suburban shopping center."

Little reconstruction has been tried in areas wrecked by riots. Owners of property there find it difficult - or impossible - to get insurance renewed.

Other problems remain to be resolved. For one thing, Negro militants are insisting that all businesses in black neighborhoods should be owned and operated by Negroes.

Merchants everywhere are putting up bars and gratings. This is true even for stores close to the White House.

"It degrades us." The nature of what many view as a tragedy for the nation's capital was expressed in these words by Senator Mike Mansfield (Dem.), of Montana, the Senate Majority Leader in a speech to his colleagues on July 2:

"I should think...that every member of Congress would want to face up to the situation in the District.

"It degrades us. It degrades the nation. The city belongs not only to the... District; it belongs to every American. It has little reason for existence except as an expression of the nation as a whole. If it is allowed to wither and die, the nation in a symbolic sense is also being allowed to wither and die."

BUSINESS IN A CLIMATE OF FEAR

Plundered repeatedly by armed robbers, burglars and vandals, Peoples Drug Stores have felt the impact of Washington's worsening problem of crime. In this interview George B. Burrus, the chain's president, assesses causes and effects of criminal violence in the nation's capital.

Q. Mr. Burrus, is crime a problem of growing importance in retail business?

A. Right now I'd say that it is the biggest problem that we have.

Q. What has been the experience of your drugstores in the nation's capital in the past two years? How many armed robberies have you had? How many burglaries?

A. Let me refer to a letter I addressed, On Feb. 9, 1968, to Mr. Patrick V. Murphy, director of public safety for the District of Columbia. I told Mr. Murphy:

"One year ago today I addressed a letter to the President of the United States in which I expressed my concern about crime in the District of Columbia and metropolitan area. With that letter I submitted a list of robberies and burglaries committed in my company's stores in this area during the year 1966.

"I am submitting a copy of that list, and, as you will see, during that year Peoples Drug Stores in this area were the scene of 18 armed robberies and 56 burglaries resulting in a similar loss of \$102,730.59. I am enclosing a list of these incidents."

Q. Besides those direct losses from holdups and burglaries, were there others?

A. Oh, yes. The kind of crime that hits our stores creates an element of fear that effects both customers and employes. So customers stay away and we find it difficult to hold on to our personnel.

Q. How many of your stores were damaged by fire or other vandalism in the rioting that followed the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., last April?

A. We had 17 stores that were knocked out completely. We were able to reopen 14 of these stores within a week, another one in about a month.

Two stores we haven't reopened and won't reopen. One was burned out, and the other was damaged through looting and so forth to the extent that we won't reopen.

Q. Are other retail businesses facing the same crime problem that you have?

A. I think the liquor stores, dairy stores, small grocery stores and some eating places and service stations are having as much or even more of a problem.

Q. Where does the trouble lie?

A. I would say that it lies with our entire system of handling this type of crime. Just one example: I think our bail-bond laws here in Washington have definitely caused a lot of this trouble. It is too easy for people who have been arrested to get out on personal bond and go right back to committing crime.

Q. Have your stores been robbed by people who were out on bond?

A. Oh, yes. Most of the crime committed against our stores can be blamed on people who are out on bond - repeaters. And convictions are practically nil.

Q. What about shoplifting? Is that a serious problem?

A. Yes, it comes under the heading of general harassment. Much of it is done by juveniles who see older people get arrested for robbery or burglary and then get out on bond and swagger around as heroes. The juveniles become hero-worshippers and follow the example of their elders.

Q. Do you see any signs of a determination to exert "black power" through criminal activities in Washington?

A. I think that one of the most unfortunate things that ever happened in this country is that crime and civil rights seem to have become, in some ways, synonymous. Some people are using civil-rights arguments in an attempt to justify crime, while others try to blame the increase in crime on the improvement in civil rights.

Take the recent case of a white policeman here who was slain while attempting to arrest Negro robbery suspects. The Black United Front - a civil-rights coalition - passed a resolution which said that "the alleged slaying of the 'honky' cop is justifiable homicide in the same sense that police are allowed to kill black people and call it justifiable homicide." Many of our prominent leaders are now faced with the hard choice of supporting the resolution in the name of civil rights or denouncing the resolution on behalf of law and order.

Q. *Do you think that court decisions in recent years have made it more difficult for the police to do their jobs?*

A. Whether the court decisions were right or wrong I'm not in a position to say. But so many local, State and federal laws have been nullified without any legislation to replace them that a vacuum has been created which results, sometimes, almost in bedlam.

Q. *Do you think that a very strict gun law - such as the registration-and-licensing system proposed by President Johnson - would be a real deterrent to the sort of crime you face in your stores?*

A. If I lived in Tennessee - in the little town where I was born and raised - I'd be against the gun law. There a gun is used for hunting game and not very often for crime. But living in Washington and seeing what happens here, I'm very much in favor of a strict gun law that would make it harder for criminals to get guns and use them.

Q. *Have you had to close some stores because of the crime situation?*

A. Yes, but we don't want to give in to that. We think the problem has to be solved. We prefer to open new stores and renovate old stores rather than close them, because it's still a good business.

You must remember that in these areas where we're having trouble, 95 per cent of the people are good people. But this 5 per cent criminal element can destroy the whole thing.

So we think that business has to solve the problem and not give in to it.

Q. *Have you strengthened your own security force?*

A. We have, but we don't think that is the solution. We hope that we can find a solution by working with the people in the community and with the police department. Our store managers go to community meetings and discuss the problems and go to the schools and talk with students. The police are very co-operative.

Q. *Are there any indications that this approach is meeting with some success?*

A. So far the record does not give any such indication. -It's a long process. But I think that the philosophy is: Let's try to solve the problem. Let's use our ingenuity - both business and government. We can't close up and run away from the problem.

Q. *Are you optimistic about prospects for avoiding serious trouble - more riots - for the rest of the summer?*

A. I have no fear of any organized trouble, but the potential for spontaneous trouble is there all the time. That's what we worry about. It could start this way:

A gang of 12 or 14 might walk into a store and say, "We're going to start taking all your merchandise," and they'll start picking up your stuff and insulting your customers. They'll spread out all over the store.

Well, you call the police. Generally, such a gang has it timed - they know just how long it will take the police to get there.

But say the police get there and make arrests. Out in front of the store there are people around. If somebody starts resisting arrest, there are 300 or 400 people right there before you know it. Then it's just like wildfire, and if police reinforcements are called in, it gets worse. So that's what we fear - a spontaneous eruption.

Some people who are trying to solve the problem say that it all results from the environmental situation, lack of education, lack of opportunity. They may be right. But I would say that the danger is aggravated to a large degree by one thing, and that is the fact that a great many laws bearing on the crime problem have been nullified with no new legislation to supplant them - leaving law enforcement, to a disturbing extent, in a vacuum.

Q. *What can be done to change that?*

A. It comes down to public opinion. It is up to the law-abiding public to demand more protection for the rights of honest citizens and less emphasis on protection of criminals.

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THE PROS AND CONS OF STOP AND FRISK

Richard H. Kuh

Samuel Lasky, an off-duty New York City patrolman, was showering in his sixth-floor Mount Vernon apartment one afternoon when he heard a noise at his front door. He went to the peephole and saw two men tiptoeing in the hall. He immediately phoned the local police, threw on some clothes, and returned to his door. The two men were heading quietly toward the stairs. With his service revolver in hand, Lasky ran into the hall. The tiptoeers ran, too, but Lasky succeeded in apprehending one of them, John Francis Peters, who claimed that he had been looking for a girl friend, a married woman, in the building. Chivalrously, he refused to divulge her name. Lasky frisked Peters - that is, he patted Peter's clothing to see if he was carrying a weapon. He felt a hard object, which on inspection turned out to be a plastic case containing picks, wrenches, and a tension bar.

Peters was charged with possession of burglars' tools. His attorney sought to have the charge dismissed on the ground that Peter's detention and frisking were in violation of his Constitutional rights against unlawful search and seizure. When this argument proved unsuccessful, Peters pleaded guilty, reserving his rights, under New York State procedure, to appeal. And appeal he did. Ultimately, after taking the case through the state's appellate courts without success, Peters pressed his claim in the United States Supreme Court.

Is Suspicion Enough? Last December 11 and 12, Peters's case was argued before the Justices in Washington, along with two other cases involving "stop and frisk," one from New York and one from Ohio. At this writing, the three cases are sub judice - fully argued but as yet undecided.

"Stop and frisk" is the police power to stop someone - forcibly, if resisted - without formally placing him under arrest, when his actions, although not obviously criminal, arouse strong suspicion. For instance, a patrolman on his beat hears a woman scream inside an apartment building and moments later sees a man leaving the building. The policeman knows of no crime; but shouldn't he stop the man and ask a few pertinent questions, or perhaps detain him while the source of the scream is being checked? Without the stop-and-frisk power, he could not intervene.

In this and hundreds of similar situations, the police clearly have no power to arrest the suspect. They can make an arrest only when they believe their prisoner has committed or is committing a specific known crime, and when they are ready to charge him with it, book him at a local station house, and bring him to the criminal courts to answer the charge. Short of that, they rely on the stop-and-frisk power, which involves far less of an intrusion or deprivation of freedom. They need only have a reasonable suspicion of criminal conduct, not a reasonable cause to believe a specific crime has been committed. After a field investigation, including possibly a quick search, the suspect must be turned loose or, if further information has been turned up, he must be formally charged with a crime and arrested.

The difference in the two words "suspicion" and "belief" and in the results to flow from them, has heated the tempers of both civil libertarians and champions of police power. Extremists on both sides of the controversy over the stop-and-frisk power are rooting for a winner-take-all decision by the Supreme Court; one group would bar the police from stopping anyone unless his acts are so blatantly dangerous as to justify placing him under arrest, while the other would broadly ratify continued police stopping on suspicion with

few if any limitations upon the individual officer's judgment. Before we consider a possible middle course, the dangers inherent in the stop-and-frisk power merit attention.

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, although favoring the right of police to stop suspects whether or not they cooperate voluntarily, noted in its 1967 Task Force Report on the Police: "Misuse of field interrogation . . . is causing serious friction with minority groups in many localities. This is becoming particularly true as more police departments adopt 'aggressive patrol' in which officers are encouraged routinely to stop and question persons on the street who are unknown to them, who are suspicious, or whose purpose for being abroad is not readily evident . . . both minority group leaders and persons sympathetic to minority groups throughout the country were almost unanimous in labelling field interrogation as a principal problem in police-community relations."

This alarm was more pointedly noted in a legal brief submitted to the Supreme Court by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund: "The evidence is weighty and uncontradicted that stop and frisk power is employed by the police most frequently against the inhabitants of our inner cities, racial minorities and the underprivileged."

One of our ablest judges, Charles D. Breitel of New York, in urging the American Law Institute - a congress of leading lawyers, judges and law professors - to approve the power of stopping on suspicion, stated that the most likely victims of street crimes are the poor and members of minority groups; these are the persons most in need of the protections that stop and frisk affords. But the corollary of extensive stopping on suspicion in slum areas is that law-abiding residents of such areas will be stopped far more often than will law-abiding persons in other areas. The occasional inconvenience of stop and frisk to the majority may be so frequent as to suggest willful harassment to the minority.

The claims of harassment are understandable, but they may be overstressed. In New York State, stop and frisk has had statutory ratification since July 1, 1964. When the statute was passed, an Emergency Committee for Public Safety pledged to "proceed to establishing and providing free legal dissent for any persons oppressed under the new laws." Although this and other pressure groups have tried unsuccessfully to repeal the state law, their inability to find any cases that dramatize the evils they foresaw strongly suggests that the law's abuses have not been significant. None of the cases now before the Supreme Court appear to involve slapdash, arrogant police action against members of minority groups, and no particular case has arisen - as opposed to broad condemnatory generalities - in which it has even been alleged that the stop-and-frisk power has been missused discriminatorily.

Practical Guidance. What is needed, rather than a blanket ratification or a blanket condemnation by the Supreme Court of stopping on suspicion, is a rapprochement that will preserve the stopping power while refraining from such abuses of it as may further strain racial relations. This will require legislation that carefully defines and limits the stopping power, and judicial action that ratifies stopping on suspicion but only under circumstances that make that stopping reasonable.

In addition, the rapprochement can be furthered through enforced police regulations that inform patrolmen in the field just what they are supposed to do and not to do. After New York State's stop-and-frisk law was passed, the Combined Council of Law Enforcement Officials (consisting of representatives of all the state's enforcement agencies: police, sheriffs, prosecutors, and others) took steps to inform the more than fifty thousand police in the state, in considerable detail, just what was expected of them under the law. The 1967 Report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement noted that the Council's bulletin "affords the patrolman practical guidance for his actions, including examples, factual variables, and guiding principles. In effect, this carries a New York 'stop and frisk' statutory provision into the street situations in which it is administered."

In formulating its guidelines, which incorporated the limitations of the state law, the Council sought to map dispassionately what it thought most persons would agree was reasonable police authority and what were reasonable limitations upon that authority. The guidelines said that an officer was not to stop anyone unless he was prepared to explain his specific reason for doing so. He could not use a firearm or nightstick. Persons were to be stopped only when felonies and certain major misdemeanors were suspected. The extent of such a search might accompany any stopping was limited: it was not to be a pretext for obtaining evidence but solely for the officer's protection against hidden weapons. The suspect's detention was to be brief, just long enough to ask a few questions designed to allay or confirm the officer's suspicions, and questioning had to proceed where the stopping took place - on the street, in a nearby hallway, or in the police car.

Through this kind of self-regulation, backed by legislatively or judicially imposed restraints, police can weed out those ills - abuses toward minority groups and high-handed treatment of suspects - that stop-and-frisk opponents understandably fear. In this way, the improved ability of the police to protect all of us through preventive measures can be preserved.

The Reporter
February 8, 1968

POLICE: THE THIN BLUE LINE

He is facing, daily and nightly, people who would gladly see him dead, and he knows it. He moves through Harlem, therefore, like an occupying soldier in a bitterly hostile country, which is precisely what, and where, he is.

- Nobody Knows My Name
by James Baldwin

The soldier of the cities is the cop, his front line the American ghetto. Harlem, Watts, Roxbury, Hough, Hunters Point, the South Side, Dixie Hills, Bedford-Stuyvesant: these are the battlegrounds whose names are inscribed in rubble and resentment and fear of worse conflagrations to come. Already this year, serious disturbances have broken out in 211 cities and towns. Even when they are quiet, vast areas of the American metropolis today resemble combat zones, volatile, bitter and suspicious.

Police forces around the country are stepping up recruiting. Armories are stocking weaponry that ranges from small, knockout-spray atomizers to tanks. Training is being reoriented and intensified. And slowly - sometimes too slowly - the best forces are beginning to re-examine the concepts that have guided policemen for generations, trying to look upon the citizens of the slums not as foes but as fellow men and a commanding social challenge.

Nowhere is more being done in these respects than in Los Angeles, scene of the first cataclysmic riots of the '60s. No police chief is acting more vigorously or imaginatively to prevent new outbreaks than Los Angeles' Thomas Reddin, 52, who understands that the cop today must not only be a well trained soldier but a "street-corner sociologist." Says Reddin, "This is the year when the public will suddenly realize that the policeman has more to do with the state of our nation than any other man on the streets today."

State of Siege. Every major city is now prepared to deal with a summer of violence. The state of siege that results from crime and assault is even more widespread and lasts year round, from January to December. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement found last year that one out of every three Americans is afraid to walk alone in his own neighborhood after dark.

In Boston, office girls refuse to work alone after 6. In Kansas City, hospitals have trouble finding night nurses. Prudent Chicagoans try not to ride the El after dark, and attendance at White Sox games is down, not merely because of the team's poor record. Nearly everywhere, often without even consciously thinking about it, city dwellers are adjusting their lives, their residences and their jobs to the fear of physical violence. Parks that once were playgrounds on hot summer nights are now virtually empty. Iron bars and heavy mesh cover exposed windows, while doors are double and triple locked.

For the first time since it began publishing 33 years ago, the Gallup poll reports that crime is the nation's No. 1 domestic concern. And "crime in the streets" - a catchall phrase for everything from muggings to insurrections - may well have displaced Viet Nam as the prime issue in the presidential campaign. The FBI reckons that urban crime jumped 88% in the first seven years of the decade - and 17% over 1967 in the first three months of 1968. Granting a sizable margin of inaccuracy in reporting, the figures are probably a fair approximation of the facts. In response to such statistics, Congress last month promised local police forces major financial backing (\$400 million over the next two years) for the first time in history. Even the Post Office has put its weight behind the policeman. Instead of celebrating Boy Scouts or blue jays, a recent 6¢

special-issue stamp showed a kindly cop escorting a small boy, with three words in banner red: Law and Order.

Undoubtedly, the nation's police are better today than they ever were in the past. But manifestly they are not good enough. For every step forward, there have been two steps backward in the growth of slum populations; for every advance in understanding of minorities, there have been two retreats in growing ghetto resentment and despair. Widespread corruption is by no means a thing of the past. A study prepared for the President's crime commission, leaked this month, claimed that in ghetto areas of three cities - Chicago, Boston and Washington - 27% of the police regularly committed offenses that would normally be classed as felonies or misdemeanors. Minor shakedowns for meals, drinks and small favors were so common as not to be included. Third degrees and savage beatings have been largely done away with since the '30s, but a New Jersey grand jury was ordered last week to investigate charges that Paterson police used unnecessary force in quelling recent disturbances in Puerto Rican neighborhoods. Without question, New York City police used extreme, sometimes brutal tactics against students during spring demonstrations at Columbia University. "As far as police practice is concerned," says Stanford Social Scientist Richard Blum, "the U.S. has to be considered an underdeveloped country."

The Census. Whereas most European states have centralized forces with uniform, nationwide standards, the U.S. has 40,000 separate law-enforcement agencies - with 40,000 different codes, 40,000 different policies, and 40,000 different ideas as to how the peace should be maintained. Los Angeles County has 50 police forces, including the L.A.P.D. Educational qualifications range from nonexistent to four years of college. Oddly enough, almost no force gives even a rudimentary psychological exam - surely an essential requirement for one of the most sensitive of all occupations. Many suburbs and small cities attempt to solve serious crimes with techniques that would have seemed elementary to Dr. Watson; some big-city police laboratories have every detection device that modern science can provide.

Duties vary just as widely. Boston police must not only conduct an annual door-to-door census, a chore that consumes ten weeks, but also have to issue permits for dogs, guns, private detectives, itinerant musicians, pawnbrokers, junk dealers, new and used car dealers, and hackney cabs. In Los Angeles, policemen going on duty must pause for a reading of schoolchildren's essays on the glories of the L.A.P.D. Red tape envelops every police department, but few can compete with New York's for sheer bulk. A New York cop who arrests a teen-age drug addict must fill out well over 100 forms - enough to make any but the most conscientious think twice before stopping a suspect. And the cop on the beat still uses the same weapons he did 100 years ago - a billy club and gun - and often wields them with Dickensian abandon.

All too often he also has the attitudes of 100 years ago. While the best police heads have made strides in instilling professionalism in their forces, others, as in Boston, Pittsburgh and Memphis, have not taken even the first step. Few have recognized that in the turbid inner cities more than efficiency is needed, that the cop must indeed be a man of many parts. Among the few: New York's Howard Leary, Washington's Patrick Murphy, Atlanta's Herbert Jenkins, St. Louis' Curtis Brostron. And, of course, Tom Reddin.

The Glass House. Most Americans heard of Reddin only after the assassination of Robert F. Kennedy, when, for a period of 42 nearly sleepless hours, he directed the investigation of the murder and also expertly fielded newsmen's questions on nationwide TV. Most Californians knew of him long before, almost from the very day in February 1967 that he moved into the chief's office in L.A.'s new eight story headquarters building known to the force as the "Glass House."

The late William Parker, Reddin's predecessor, was the epitome of the police professional, a crusty authoritarian who had little truck with sociological theories. Taking over a scandal-tainted force in 1950, Parker made it as honest as any in the nation, boosting standards, competence and morale, and giving the L.A. police a paramilitary esprit. He did not, however, understand the new problems caused by the post-war influx of Mexican-Americans and Negroes. For several years before his death in 1966, the once progressive department stagnated as the ailing chief's ideas congealed into dogma and he labored to surround the department in Reddin's words, with a "blue curtain of secrecy."

Black people, L.A. State Senator Mervyn Dymally told the McCone commission investigating the Watts riot, "generally expected the worst from the police - and generally received it." Even after Watts had been pacified in 1965, Parker could not help exulting: "We're on the top, and they're on the bottom."

Yet, with all the vaunted efficiency of L.A.P.D., Watts would never have been subdued without the aid of 13,900 National Guardsmen. Like most other cities at the time, L.A. had no contingency plan for a major uprising. "We were so anxious not to cause a riot that we backed off at first and let a riot develop," admits Reddin, who was then a deputy chief. "Using accepted practice on the second day, we isolated the area, reasoning that the rioters would riot themselves out and go home. So what happened? Other riots broke out in other areas." In the end, the insurrection encompassed a region roughly the size of San Francisco. There was little liaison with other agencies, particularly the National Guard, and commanders often could not communicate with patrol cars because their radios operated on different frequencies.

Like any other lost battle, Watts yielded its lessons, and Los Angeles' riot plan is now geared for all contingencies. Police response is carefully adjusted, like a Herman Kahn scenario, to the size of the disturbance - enough force to smother trouble quickly, but not enough to provoke greater resentment. In each division, half the patrol cars are always tagged for response to special riot alert; if the cars of one division should prove inadequate to halt a disturbance, half the cars in the city can be on the move within minutes. If half the department still cannot keep control, nearly the entire uniformed force of 4,000 can be mobilized for duty. Los Angeles' basic formula of speed and superior force is being copied by 100 other cities.

Supervision has been greatly tightened and improved. At a demonstration against Vice President Humphrey at the Los Angeles Palladium last week (Humphrey, ill at home, was a no-show), supervisors made sure that police were restrained and effective. The protesters went home quietly. A year ago, when President Johnson appeared at Century City, the cops not only violated an elementary rule of crowd control by leaving the demonstrators no avenue for exit, but inflamed feelings with gross misuse of force, helping to turn a demonstration into a riot.

The S.W.A.T. Squad. Every frontline policeman in Los Angeles has been through a three-day riot-control school, and all have been told exactly what to do in event of riot. Officers would no longer work as individuals, but would be assigned to highly mobile, rapidly moving squads. "One man, operating as one man," says Reddin, "can control only one man. One man as part of a squad of ten can control several hundred people." When should a policeman shoot to kill? Reddin is notably evasive, refusing even to outline a situation when he himself would fire his revolver. Ultimately in Los Angeles, the decision is left up to the individual cop. Two hundred marksmen have been assigned to a squad named S.W.A.T. (Special Weapons and Tactics), designed to pick off snipers and to eliminate, presumably, the need for indiscriminate police gunfire, which took innocent victims in Newark and Detroit last year. On the target range they can hit the head of a man's silhouette at 300 yards. A \$25,000 trailer has been fitted out as a mobile command post, with an armored underside to fend off Molotov cocktails, and a smaller van is available for secondary commanders.

Fibre shields, straight out of Ivanhoe, and bulletproof vests have been bought for men in danger areas. The force this summer will have nearly 700 walkie-talkies to link commanders with front-line cops.

Potential riots are far from the only problem. Los Angeles recorded an 8.1% crime rise in 1967 over 1966. Because of its sprawling size, which isolates branch offices and gives any getaway car 1,000 escape routes, it is No. 1 in bank robberies. Because of its proximity to Mexico, it is the marijuana capital of the world. The L.A.P.D. seized 2½ tons of grass last year, enough to orbit a good-size army. Because of its balmy climate, it has, notes the chief, a "twelve-month crime culture."

To cope with all this, Los Angeles has the smallest force in the country, relative to population (an estimated 2,840,632) and area (463.6 sq. mi.). The city employs only 1.9 cops per 1,000 residents v. 2.8 in Chicago, 3.2 in New York. Yet man for man, in part because the force is so highly motorized, it is probably one of the most efficient. The L.A.P.D. has a higher percentage of civilians than any other big-city force (three civilians for every ten in uniform); they handle many tasks, such as clerical work and traffic direction, that elsewhere sworn policemen usually perform, thus freeing all but a few regulars for active law enforcement duty. An elite team of 225, known as the "Top Group," has been organized for special assignments such as nabbing organized car-theft rings or stick-up artists. A "community radio watch," composed of cabbies and truck drivers who have two-way radios, is being formed to alert police to violations. Eventually, Reddin guesses, the radio watchers could add 60,000 pairs of eyes without any cost to the police-surveillance network. Another laborsaving device is a new \$450,000 computer, financed by the Federal Government, that will not only cut down on paper work but also, by constantly pinpointing changing crime target areas, will help commanders assign patrols when and where they are needed.

"The T.R. Times." Yet the biggest problem of the L.A., or any other police force, is not tactical. "Above all," says Reddin, "we found as a result of Watts that we had lost touch with the public that we were attempting to serve."

Keeping touch has been Reddin's main concern. California Criminologist A.C. Germann suggests that a good police chief must be as willing to talk to black nationalists as he is to the Optimists' Club. Reddin may not exactly rap with the Black Panthers, but he tries.

A gregarious and Brobdingnagian man (6 ft. 4 in., 215 lbs.), he will talk with almost everyone. During his first year in office, his audiences numbered more than 70,000; he still spends four to five hours a day in some form of community relations, averages at least five speeches a week. "I know," he boasts, "every banquet hall in Los Angeles." The L.A.P.D. has not been excluded from Reddin's conviviality. Not only does he talk frequently with all levels, but every two weeks he sends the troops a little newsletter dubbed "The T.R. Times." One of its maxims: "Don't blow your cool."

Damping Rumors. At Reddin's direction, community-relations programs have been greatly expanded, with a deputy chief and a staff of 100. A community-relations officer, often a Negro, and a youth-service officer have been assigned to each ghetto station as emissaries to the neighborhood. Each station, in addition, has established a citizens' council that brings together 20 to 50 residents a month to discuss local problems with the police. One such meeting in Watts elicited a demand for a crackdown on bars serving as hangouts for prostitutes. The police listened, then acted against the bars. Another time a group from the Imperial Courts housing project in Watts brought in a suggestion for a community police service corps; they already had some 60 boys and girls, ages ten to 18, who wanted to help educate the community on the problems of law enforcement. Reddin immediately sponsored the unit, and Deputy Chief James Fisk scrounged around for office space, equipment and uniforms.

To damp down rumors that often lead to riots - a report that a pregnant Negro woman had been beaten by police helped precipitate the 1965 uprising - Los Angeles, like other cities, has set up rumor-control centers. If an inflammatory incident occurs, police immediately tell their side of the story to the local rumor-control officer. He calls four friends and each of them calls four more; the chain continues until a large part of the community knows that there are at least two sides to the story. It's very loose-knit," admits Reddin, "but it gets the word out. And the people involved aren't known as finks."

So that residents can know who the man behind the badge is, Reddin also gave each cop business cards and name tags - an innocuous but nonetheless controversial departure in a once notoriously highhanded force. Another innovation is actually ancient. Reddin has returned to the streets a man who disappeared from Los Angeles when patrol cars came in: the cop on the beat. It is remarkable in a city where only the poor and the eccentric walk, and so far the experiment is on a tiny scale. About 30 are now pounding the pavements.

"This is beautiful community relations," argues the chief. "The policeman gets to know people. They identify with him, and the chances of one of them throwing a rock at him or at a police car are less. It's the most expensive way of deploying policemen, but in the long run it could very well turn out to be the least expensive." Other cities that had cut back on foot patrolmen are also discovering new virtues in old ways. "When I was walking a beat," remembers St. Louis' Chief Brostron, "the policeman knew the good people and the bad ones, the joints and the gambling dens. The officer in the car today doesn't have that contact." Still, with the huge expenses of foot patrol no chief can possibly plan to abandon the economics or the speed of the prowl car or bring back the man on foot in anything like the old numbers.

Monsters With Badges. The Reddin blueprint pays attention to the young - rather self-consciously. Fourteen officers, each known as "Policeman Bill," are assigned to the city schools' first, second and third grades, where they tell children about the policeman's job. It all sounds a little cloying. Even so, before one "Policeman Bill's" visit, a survey showed, ghetto children portrayed cops as monsters with whips and flashing silver badges. After he left, they scrawled kindly father figures. To woo teenagers, almost always the trouble-makers in ghetto disturbances, the L.A.P.D. has experimentally hired twelve youths for help on such minor but ticklish assignments as mediating family disputes. The program so far has shown encouraging signs of success.

Reddin's schemes for better community relations have not worked miracles or turned Watts into a place where happy kiddies constantly listen to stories from avuncular cops. Nonetheless, police are relatively safe in Watts, something that cannot be said for all the nation's ghettos. Though most members of minorities like Reddin's ideas, many Negro militants still refuse to talk with the police. Some, like US (US is black people; whites would be THEM) Chief Ron Karenga, insist that Chief Parker's out-and-out hostility would be preferable to Reddin's firm amiability. The police, says Karenga, are still a neocolonial force in the ghetto. "They are not protecting us. They are controlling us." Karenga complains that the only function of Reddin's community councils is to release Negro frustrations through talk, without bringing effective action. Arthur Garcia, a Mexican-American spokesman, claims that only yes men sit on his community's councils. Felix Futierrez, another Latin leader, notes that the L.A.P.D. still refuses to lower the height requirements so that Mexican-Americans, who tend to be shorter than other Angelenos, can join the force. (By contrast, New York has cut an inch off its previous 5 ft. 8 in. minimum to attract more Puerto Ricans). One Mexican-American says that a riot in L.A.'s Latin ghetto would have been inconceivable two years ago; now, he fears, "things might start to blow around here."

Probably no force could find more than lukewarm approval in the ghetto today - so deep are the enmities, so profound the suspicions of the fuzz, or sometimes, "Chuck." (Apparently from "Mr. Charlie," the equivalent of honky or whitey.) The very presence of cops in the slums, many Negro militants maintain, represents society's goal to protect the white man's property and suppress the black man's right.

More Than Anything. One of the most damning facts about the L.A. department is that its force of 4,000 has only 220 blacks. Police departments have assiduously sought to recruit Negro officers in the past few years, but most of them have not had much success (Exceptions: Washington, 21% of the force; Philadelphia, 20%; Chicago, 17%). Negro policemen are often looked on as Judases when they put on the blue uniform. "More than anything," laments a black patrolman in Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant, "I want my people to like me. But they just don't like cops. This suit makes me an enemy to them just like any other cop."

The police station remains a place of fear. Precinct-house brutality is uncommon today but not unheard of. When he was Detroit Commissioner in the early '60s, relates U.S. Circuit Judge George Edwards, police sometimes told him that prisoners hurt themselves "falling on the precinct steps." He wondered how a handcuffed man, surrounded by four officers, could possibly suffer a "four-inch cut on the top of the head" in such a fashion and ordered his cops to tell him the facts. He never again received such a report - and, he adds, prisoners tended to "fall" less frequently. Oakland police were incredibly vicious during anti-draft demonstrations last October; while Reddin defends the conduct of his men in the Century City melee, he has since issued orders that night sticks no longer be raised above the shoulder.

"Taking someone behind a door and beating hell out of him? Our officers wouldn't dare," says Reddin. "They know that if they did, they'd be prosecuted, and might just wind up in the joint." Undoubtedly, there are more subtle forms of physical abuse - an elbow in the back or a punch in the kidney. But the new worry, as Reddin readily admits, is psychological brutality - the condescending look, or the tone of voice that indicates to a man that he is a suspect merely because of his color, clothes or accent.

One innovation that might go a long way to ease community relations - as well as to disprove many charges of out-right brutality - is a civilian board, a kind of ombudsman to review citizen complaints. But police everywhere look upon the notion with undisguised horror as an unwarranted invasion from the outside. "Today," says San Francisco's Chief Tom Cahill, "you cannot even look mean. That may be police brutality."

"Lawyers, doctors and judges all police their own," says Philadelphia's Commissioner Frank Rizzo. "Why does it have to be the policeman who is second-guessed? I don't enjoy being quarterbacked by nonprofessionals." Philadelphia, ironically, had a civilian review board for nearly ten years, examining more than 700 complaints and proving to the satisfaction of most outsiders that the concept does work. The police guild, however, succeeded in killing it in court last year.

Convenient Whipping Boy. Feeling somewhat besieged, policemen not only work together but spend their off-duty time together, and police families often have little social life outside the police-family orbit. "Other people generally don't like police," explains Christos Kasaras, a patrolman on Manhattan's West Side. The result is a kind of inbreeding that tends to make police the victims of their own stereotypes.

Yet, very often, as New York's Howard Leary observes, the policeman has reason to feel rankled: he is indeed what Leary calls "the convenient whipping boy" for many of society's ills. All things considered, it is almost a miracle that American cops, who receive little respect from anybody for perhaps the toughest job in the U.S., are as good as they are. "It is too easy to forget," says University of Chicago Sociologist Jerome Skolnick,

"that police are only people," with the same frustrations and prejudices that others of similar backgrounds might have. "No matter what people call you," says Patrolman Kasaras, "you're supposed to contain yourself." The young policeman, adds Reddin, "deals with filth, the dregs of humanity, on a minute-to-minute basis. It's not hard for him to reach a point where he says that people are no damn good, so to hell with people." Yet as Miami Beach's Chief Rocky Pomerance only half-jokingly observes, "a policeman these days has to be part priest, part psychiatrist, part social worker, part karate expert - and he has to be able to make a decision in a few seconds that will stand up before complex legal scrutiny clear up to the U.S. Supreme Court."

Outmoded administrative systems that force every recruit to start off in the lowest rank discourage the educated and the enterprising from becoming policemen. Every would-be police chief has to serve a menial apprenticeship; no one from outside, regardless of his qualifications, can come in at the middle. Some, like Reddin, favor lateral entry, commonplace in every other organization, but none have succeeded in changing the ossified structure of the police establishment. Pay is equally out of date; the median for patrolmen in big cities: \$6,088.

One consequence is a dismayingly low percentage of college men in police work. Only a very few forces, including Los Angeles', require any higher education at all. Another is that more and more policemen have to moonlight to make ends meet - and in most cities are required to carry their guns off duty - as guards or cabbies. This can itself provoke violence. Arguing in a New York traffic tie-up last week, one off-duty cop shot another and was, in turn, shot by a third. Result: one dead, one seriously wounded.

Not only has society put the policeman on the front line in the ghetto, but it has saddled him with a multitude of problems that are social, medical or, as in traffic control, economic rather than criminal. Sometimes they are not even that, but only the moral expressions of an earlier generation. "The criminal code tends to make a crime of everything that people are against," says the President's crime commission. "The result is that it becomes society's trash bin. The police have to rummage around in this material, and are expected to prevent everything that is unlawful." More important, observes Sociologist Skolnick, some of the vice laws actually encourage criminality by creating a black market of illegal demands - prostitutes, narcotics, the numbers game - that can exist only with the connivance of corrupt cops.

All Your Time. Apart from nourishing corruption, vice laws tie many men down fighting infractions that most Americans are guilty of themselves or condone. Some 200 men assigned to the L.A. vice squad spend much of their time keeping tabs on minor gamblers, striptease clubs, prostitutes and sexual perverts. "Why, with all the homosexuals, bisexuals, transvestites, and trans-sexuals," declares San Francisco's Cahill, "it takes all your time figuring them out. It's shocking how little time we have left for major crime." The most bothersome and time-consuming task of all is handling public drunks, who, though hardly a serious menace to society, account for one-third of all arrests in the U.S.

The Difference. Obviously, almost anything that will improve the police will cost money; better law enforcement cannot be purchased on the cheap. Not only the salaries are too low, but too little is spent on equipment, buildings and, most of all, research. Most chiefs scoff at the much publicized gadgetry, such as "instant banana peel," a chemical that makes streets too slippery for rioters to stay on their feet. But police professionals are, somewhat belatedly, impressed by computers and faster communications techniques. Reddin, for example, wants three things from the technicians: a Dick Tracy-type wrist radio to connect the patrolman to the station house; a fast scanner to pick out suspects' fingerprints, and a dashboard computer console to tie patrol cars to giant memory banks in Sacramento and L.A. Computers could then tell, within three seconds, whether a suspect had a record.

Yet in the end, it is the individual cop who is the overseer of peaceful normalcy. Often under the most difficult circumstances, he is the thin blue line between law and disorder, civilization and anarchy. He is the man whom Tom Reddin and others like him are trying to lead - and change. Few experts promise quick results. As Tom Reddin puts it: "We're reversing a whole lifetime of a different kind of police work." Understandably, the policemen - even the "street-corner sociologist" - is not so much concerned with social trends as with the job an older society gave him to do.

It is unfair, says Roger Wilkins, director of the federal Community Relations Service, to expect the police, no matter how good, to be able to do a first-rate job where society has failed these people in the ghettos - and then it asks the police to go down and keep order. In the U.S. today, the policeman's role cannot be redefined simply by enlightened police chiefs, or vague calls for law and order, or courts resolved to protect the rights of the individual. It will take a degree of awareness and concern about the causes of violence and social insurrection that is not yet evident in American life.

Time, July 19, 1968

POLICE CRISIS

The profile of the average cop is etched from studies amassed by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. The surveys the Commission gathered supply other insights into the character and career of the average police officer. Among them: While his job requires that he make instant street decisions of the wisest and least provocative caliber, he was not tested for emotional stability before going on the police force.

He also has an ambivalent view of his work. He thinks that some of his colleagues are incompetent, corrupt and abusive. He often contemplates quitting. He feels that he is only a cog in a machine. He believes that much of the public regards him with hostility and contempt.

Attitude samplings show, too, that he is prejudiced against Negroes and other minority groups and that he tends to be tougher in his dealings with nonwhites. He has little appreciation of the psychology and culture of the poor, minorities or juveniles. He is aware that some fellow officers treat minority citizens with rudeness, abuse and even physical roughness. He opposes full integration of his own police department.

His feelings warp the facts. For instance, it is not true that the prevailing view of him is one of disdain. Polls show that about 70 percent of all people respect him. But it is true that a majority of Negroes dislike him, and about one-third believe he is guilty of outright brutality. Half of the Negro population thinks he is corrupt. Negro teenagers view him as the enemy. Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans also hold him in low regard.

He finds few compensations in his work. He feels stifled by the police seniority system, believes his superiors desert him under political pressure, thinks society expects an impossible performance from him and feels harassed by the courts for recent decisions that hobble him in gaining convictions. He is disheartened by the increasing difficulty of making a case against criminals he feels certain are guilty.

Each policeman is charged with protecting about 600 people. He faces a constantly rising crime rate. He manages to solve only about one-quarter of the crimes he encounters - a lower proportion than he used to.

Many of his emergency calls involve domestic squabbles, in which he acts as arbiter. He seldom arrests either party. Actually, he makes few arrests a month, and half of these are for such minor offenses as vagrancy, loitering and drunkenness. Two-thirds of his time is consumed by noncrime duties, many of them irksome. Criminal investigation occupies few of his hours.

Still, he confronts danger constantly. In addition to a one-in-eight chance of being assaulted during the year, he faces one chance in 22 of being injured and one chance in 3,500 of being killed. He is, however, in less danger of losing his life than if he worked in mining, farming, construction or transportation.

He is reasonably secure financially. He is covered by life, health and disability insurance, gets three weeks' vacation a year, participates in a decent pension plan and can retire after 23 years on the job.

His education has not fitted him to master the enormous social-worker chores that are thrust upon him. The complexities of his job would tax a superman. He is supposed to be familiar with and help enforce a staggering 30,000 local, state and Federal laws. His career becomes a long march of frustration. He is expected to embody the compassionate qualities of priest, nurse, Boy Scout, physician, father and friend - but he is also supposed to galvanize himself into an instant commander, disciplinarian, keen shot and military genius. He may be pardoned if he fails.

That is the man - the average policeman in the United States - who patrols the streets at a time when lawlessness, riots, racial strife, juvenile unrest and the depredations of the organized Cosa Nostra combine to produce an era of social disorder unmatched in the nation's history.

The police of the United States - 350,000 men and women of the municipal, county and state forces - are in a state of crisis. Resignations are rising. Recruiting lags. Morale plunges. Technology trails far behind that of Europe. Police training, despite stellar exceptions in such cities as New York, Chicago and Los Angeles, remains poor. Educational standards are low. A new crusade for police professionalism collides with entrenched politics, corruption and the torpor of administrators encrusted with outworn traditions. Crime rates rise. Crime solutions recede. Police retreat from rioters, looters and snipers in one city while exploding with indiscriminate and excessive force in another.

In Newark, N. J., Negroes demand that the politics-ridden force be placed in receivership. In Detroit, Negroes complain that police responded too slowly to quell last summer's riot - yet some Detroit cops were charged with brutality, even murder. A storm of 300 bills, all seeking to improve local police forces, pelted the last session of Congress. Charges of police brutality, some justified, most fancied, rain down on city departments. Police chiefs are accused of mistreating minorities. In some cities, antipoverty officials and the police are locked in angry battle.

A shower of new orders, directives and advice, much of it conflicting and confusing, descends on the daily police roll calls about the nation. "Don't draw your guns." . . . "Be firm." . . . "Address everyone as Mister, Miss or Mrs." . . . "Clean out and isolate Fourth Street." . . . "Attend community-relations classes."

A key factor in the crisis is that police in the United States wear the face, prejudice and culture of the white man at a time when the big Northern cities shift heavily toward a black population, the ugly ghettos spill over with raging violence and the Negro policemen are only token black spots on a field of white, reviled in the streets as "Uncle Toms" or accused of manhandling members of their own race. In cities with more than 20 percent Negro population, here are some samples of the number of Negro officers on the force: Oakland, Calif., two percent; Detroit, four percent; New Orleans, four percent; Birmingham, Ala., 0.2 percent. Even in Washington, D.C., where Negroes comprise more than a majority of the population, black officers constitute but one-fifth of the force despite accelerated Negro recruiting in recent years. In county sheriffs' offices, the percentage of Negro deputies is even smaller than in the cities. State police forces remain almost all white. Of 1,200 New Jersey state policemen, only five are Negro. South Carolina this year selected its first Negro for training for the state-highway patrol.

The police today resemble toy soldiers buffeted by a hurricane. The nation is being hammered by immense social changes, the most pronounced of which are: the growing youthfulness of the population (and juveniles account for a majority of all crimes against property); the massing of more and more people in the crime-breeding slums; the expanded use of drugs; the rise of the great civil-disobedience movements; the dissolution of

family and religious disciplines; swiftly increasing personal mobility and rootlessness; riots in the black city cores, with their weary trail of looting, arson, sniping and murder. Society itself has not decided how to grapple with these baffling, rapid changes. The policeman, a sentinel without an army, stands alone on the street, equipped with old attitudes, weapons and training, charged with maintaining the kind of order that his employers are not even sure they want.

The result is a mood of bitter, often sullen, frustration among policemen. Sol Littman, police expert of the Anti-Defamation League, terms the mood one of hopelessness and despair. Look's interviews with patrolmen illustrate the point: "Garbage on my head and abuse all day long. I'm ready to pack it in." . . . "For this kind of pay, who needs it?" . . . "Everything you do now is wrong, either too much or too little. Now, I flag (evade) as much as I can. All I want is to get by for my last eight years."

Sen. Robert C. Byrd (D., W. Va.) recently questioned 50 Washington policemen with a promise of anonymity. Here are representative answers:

Officer J.: "You get a stock question from most of your Negro citizens, which is, 'Why are you picking on me?' and then from your white citizens, 'Why don't you stop all the crime?'"

Officer Y.: ". . . Morale is nil. I don't think morale exists."

Officer AE: "It seems everybody resents you, and they don't want you; and when you are called, they even tell you they don't want you there; and they don't need you, and so why bother?"

Officer AL: "You have to be afraid (that) if you lock this person up, you will have to sit down and write letters (because of protests of unfair arrest). You figure sometimes it is best to let them go. If he goes through a red light, let him go. God willing, if he is a bad enough driver, maybe he will be killed without killing an innocent person. It is a bad attitude to take, but you feel you will get yourself and your family involved."

Officer AQ: "It is not a personal matter, but once you go to lock them up, the first thing they throw at you is that 'You are locking me up because I am colored.' Now, most of our population is colored. Most of our police department is white. . . . We are getting walked on."

As the old attitudes clash with the vast new social forces, the shock unnerves many a cop. "Since the time of the pyramids," observes one veteran police reporter, "the police have been the protectors and the agents of those in power." This is a truism of all societies, the great American democracy not excepted. Police in this country traditionally have reacted not so much to race as to economic and social status. When the president of the local bank, in dinner jacket and black tie, is stopped for tipsy driving on the way home from the country club dance, he is driven home by the officer. But the drunk in the dirty sport shirt and battered car, white or Negro, is hauled to the station, given a test for intoxication and booked on charges that may bring a jail term or revocation of his license.

Now, the policeman's world is changing with startling rapidity. Black Power in the big cities has become a political fact of life. The black, the poor, the slum-tied demand to be treated like the resident of New York's Sutton Place or Detroit's Grosse Point. The "clout" is there. It manifests itself either through the politician or the Molotov cocktail. The policeman, skilled at discriminating in a manner society seemed to want or at least to tolerate, suddenly finds himself without guideposts. He is puzzled, bewildered, frustrated. He thinks the majority wants one thing, but its leaders seem to be saying another.

"The average police officer is confused and hurt," says George O'Connor, professional-standards expert of the International Association of Chiefs of Police. "The public expects the moon of him, but will give him neither the authority nor the responsibility. Not knowing what it wants in a time of swiftly changing values, the public has insured itself against all risks by stripping the policeman of authority."

In his own fraternity, the cop is caught in a squeeze between the traditionalists who occupy most of the chiefs' offices in the nation and a sprinkling of new "police professionals," for the most part college-trained, who challenge the old ways. The traditionalist chief voices opposition to the U.S. Supreme Court, champions unfettered use of gun and club, believes in tough, instant response to lawbreakers.

The new breed supports the decisions of the Supreme Court relating to the rights of the accused, thinks gun and club should be used with utmost restraint, deplores racial bias on the force, urges understanding of Negro culture, advocates more social work by police and enjoins patrolmen to approach every citizen, regardless of race or economic status, with tact and sympathy.

The new breed demands that bribery and payoffs be rooted out of the station houses. The traditionalists prefer to deny that corruption exists - or to avoid all discussion of it. A clash of attitudes at a secret police meeting last year emphasized the division. When the President's crime commission prepared its task-force volume on police, some chiefs brought pressure on the staff to eliminate or water down a section that criticized departments for graft and corruption. The staff refused. After the report was published, James Vorenberg, a Harvard Law School professor and the commission's executive director, met with a group of big-city police chiefs. The chiefs bitterly rebuked Vorenberg for the corruption charges. They contended that the police had been denigrated by baseless accusations and that Vorenberg's critical credentials were suspect, since he was an academic who had never been a policeman. One chief of a major city force came to the director's aid at the peak of the wrangle. "Listen," he said, "maybe Jim wasn't a policeman, but I am. And you guys all know what I know. Graft is a way of life in an awful lot of departments in this country."

The most severe criticism of American police heard by this writer came not from a black militant or a civil libertarian but from one of the new police breed. He rose from patrolman to command one of the country's most progressive police units. He asked for and was accorded anonymity.

"There is a continuity of corruption in many police departments," he said. "It is bound up in the nature of police work, primarily in the enforcement of incompatible and largely unwanted laws. There is no moral fervor underlying most of these laws. They become but lip service to the Protestant ethic. Take gambling. In a sense, the average city wants gambling restricted - so that only the affluent are allowed to indulge in it. So the cop, testing for reality as opposed to formal pronouncements, begins taking payoffs to let gamblers operate. The corruption moves upward from patrolman to sergeant, to lieutenant and captain. Soon, there is a web of corruption, ensnaring the whole force. This means that soon, no patrolman can be disciplined for anything - such as harsh treatment of minorities - because all police are implicated in payoffs. The average police executive can't face this situation, so he shrugs and says it doesn't exist. The honest but ineffectual administrator knows what goes on, but he's afraid to crack down. This is the situation in most of the major police departments in this country."

"Aside from corruption, the young police officer is in a dilemma of values. He sees the struggle between his own superiors and the Supreme Court, and then he wonders what his own posture should be. He sees, arbitrary, capricious and even corrupt local judges, and he becomes cynical and discouraged."

"As for police brutality, he senses a prevailing attitude in favor of some violence by the police, despite the admonitions of his commissioner. Negroes themselves want other Negroes beat up. Whites want Negroes mauled and vice versa. Look at Milwaukee. The Negro senses that the Milwaukee cop is anti-black, and he despises him. But also, the whites scream at the cop for not unleashing them on the Negroes. These pressures are intense, and, in one form or another, they're countrywide. Everybody hates the cop now. Like society itself, the police officer is groping for some absolute standard and can't find it."

The torment of the policeman in his crisis of morale can be best understood through an examination of the police dilemma segment by segment. Here are the major problems:

Recruiting. Few middle-class youths have ever looked upon a police career with envy. Rather, in the words of one professional expert, "Police work has been the traditional avenue for upward mobility by the last and lowest immigrants to the city." The once-embattled and scorned Irish became the cops of the Eastern cities. Then came the Italians, the Poles and the Slavs. Now, it would seem to be the turn of the Negroes to take over big-city police departments; but to young blacks, the policeman is the white foe, even if the face in the nearest patrol car happens to be black. Civil service examinations for a police career draw only a scattering of black applicants, and most of them fail because of poor preparation.

Even the white response to the police image is dismaying to chiefs. A recent Western Michigan University survey of attitudes among 2,000 junior-high-school students revealed strong antagonism to the police. More than half are convinced that the police treat people unequally in different sections of a city. Many stated they would not seek out the police themselves if they were in trouble.

White apathy, coupled with black antipathy, has reduced police recruitments to a dangerously low level. The President's crime commission put this year's police deficit at 50,000 men.

Pay. While pay scales have moved up recently, the average is still too low to be competitive with industry. The trouble is not so much starting salaries but the depressing top pay that a patrolman can anticipate after years on the beat. In its latest annual survey of police salaries, the Kansas City, Mo. Police Department finds that the average beginning salary for patrolmen in cities of the 300,000-1,000,000 population bracket is \$114.41 a week, while the top attained by an average patrolman is \$142.59 a week.

To bolster incomes, tens of thousands of policemen moonlight in such jobs as factory security agents, bank guards, taxi drivers and racetrack cashiers. One expert estimates that a third to a half of all patrolmen in the country hold second jobs. This fact rankles in the impoverished black areas. "I can't get one job," said a young Negro. "Whitey, especially if he's a cop, has two."

Standards. Thirty percent of the nation's police departments still do not require that applicants have a high school diploma. Only about 20 departments, chiefly in California, require some college credits. And only one of the nation's 40,000 local and state police units, the 235-man force of Multnomah (Portland) County, Ore., insists on a college degree for recruits.

Many departments require men to be five feet nine inches tall, thus effectively barring many Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans. Imposing physique is more highly prized than mental stability. Only one-fourth of all departments screen men for emotional fitness. Relatively few units require psychiatric tests to spot racial bias, sadism or panic response under stress. In departments that do have psychological screening, an amazing number of applicants are dropped. In the Portland, Ore., city police department, as a sample, 25 percent flunk the psychiatric tests.

High qualifications mean far fewer recruits, especially Negroes from ghetto schools. In some departments where requirements are stiff, only about three new policemen make it out of every 100 applicants. But in departments where low standards prevail, there is always the chance that the man put on the street to enforce the law with a .38 pistol is not only poorly educated, but perhaps is psychotic. The brutal, sadistic police stereotype of fiction is still being enlisted on some American forces.

Training. Police training varies from none to excellent. At one end of the scale are such cities as New York, where recruits spend four months in a rigorous academy course. At the other end is the small-town where a boy dons uniform and gun and goes out to keep the peace after a brief lecture from his chief.

The most serious indictment of police training comes from the International Association of Chiefs of Police. Staffer Norman Kassoff compared minimum state requirements for selected professions. The median minimum is more than 11,000 hours of training for physicians; 9,000 for attorneys; 7,000 for teachers; 5,000 for embalmers; 4,000 for barbers; 1,200 for beauticians; and less than 200 hours for policemen. Yet, of these occupations, only those of physician and policeman entail split-second decisions that can mean life or death. The average physician has nine years of training. Only a quarter of all police officers go on the street with as much as five weeks' training.

Kassoff notes that most professionals are licensed by the states, while the police officer begins work under a probation system. "In over 31 percent of the police agencies," says Kassoff, "the officer is on the street with little or no training of any type. The concept of probation permits an individual officer to practice his 'skills' under a system that in effect is still testing him to determine if his training has been successful - his 'guinea pigs' are the public he is supposed to serve. Obviously, it follows that some of America's law-enforcement problems are created by the police themselves."

Attitudes. The Negro revolution roars across the land, with the cop in the teeth of the gale. Yet few white police officers understand, know or care about the Negro or other ethnic minorities. In a belated attempt to cope with crisis before it erupts, a number of police departments have created divisions of "community relations" to labor for police-minority understanding in the slums. Some, including those of New York City, San Francisco and Atlanta, involve major efforts. Atlanta, under the bold leadership of an imaginative veteran policeman, Chief Herbert T. Jenkins, has 43 officers, almost ten percent of the force, working in a "crime prevention bureau." The men circulate in Negro areas on such tasks - historically alien to police work - as persuading drop-outs to return to school, directing people to appropriate agencies, helping job hunters and delaying rental evictions. The emphasis is on help rather than hard-nosed law enforcement. Chief Jenkins seeks to establish his officers as friends, not foes. The goal of most such programs is to gain Negro confidence and respect as insurance against the militant who cries "police brutality" on slight provocation.

Other innovations are being tried. A few cities, such as Tampa, Fla., enlist young Negroes to help dampen riots. New Haven, Conn., hit by unexpected rioting last summer, is opening neighborhood police centers in Negro areas, where young blacks and the police will work together to solve problems short of arrest and handcuffs. In New Rochelle, N.Y., young Negroes, paid \$2.25 an hour, patrol the night streets as "police partners."

But such efforts are foreign to most departments. Typically, a police academy will include one or two hours of "community relations" lectures in its curriculum. A minister, priest, rabbi or academic delivers a discourse on tolerance and the plight of the poor, and the unimpressed recruit goes on to more pertinent instruction, such as how to shoot, wield his nightstick and eject obstreperous drunks from gin mills. If his superiors care so little about racial attitudes and social issues, the beginner sees no reason why he should bother.

The Presidential police task force says that a 1952 observation by Charles Reith still applies in 1967: "It can be said of police training schools that the recruit is taught everything except the essential requirements of his calling, which is how to secure and maintain the approval and respect of the public . . ." Too often, the chief sees community relations as a public relations gimmick to improve the "police image" without altering his men's behavior. As long as the policeman remains aloof and alienated from the ghetto Negro, that long will he be seen as the armed tool of the white "enemy," and that long will he be the first target of riot snipers.

Riots. Today's policeman is poorly equipped to make the swift, drastic shift from lone operator to disciplined member of a military unit. One minute, he is patrolling his district, responsive only to his own judgment and experience. The next minute, as the riot flares, he must merge quickly into a military force under strict orders of a unit commander. It is as though a forest ranger were suddenly plummeted into a Marine battalion in Vietnam and expected to exhibit the precise responses under fire that took months to soak into the brain and blood of the soldier. Police riot training in this country lags far behind techniques employed in some European countries.

Cosa Nostra. Organized crime is winning its own war with the police. The Cosa Nostra, with a tight hold on rackets in the teeming cities, murders, pillages, terrorizes and expands its empire into once-legitimate businesses. Local police departments lack the manpower, records and intelligence techniques to fight the Mafia. In Washington, intelligence fails to pass freely between Federal enforcement agencies. Very little of it filters down to local police, chiefly because the Feds have learned through rude experience that the Mafia has paid pipelines into many police departments. What is needed is a broad national organization, as centrally directed and as sophisticated as the Cosa Nostra itself, with cooperating units manned by trusted, security-cleared officers in every major police department. Such an elite organization would sift and coordinate intelligence, gather evidence and plan arrests and indictments.

Trivia. Even if he were geared to handle organized crime, the police officer would find little time to wage the fight. His days are steeped in trivia. He may have to enforce the town ordinance against burning leaves before 4 p.m.; scatter the boys shooting crap in an alley; pacify battering husbands and wives who, when they sober up, will forget he was ever called; or reassure the mother whose daughter is an hour overdue from school. I rode with two officers on a rush mission to the home of a distracted housewife. Purpose: to allay panic. Method: transporting a ground mole, which had alarmed the housewife, to a nearby vacant lot.

Some such chores are inevitable on a policeman's rounds, and the next call may as easily be a lunatic threatening a family with a shotgun or burglars fleeing from a gas station. But why should a trained peace officer spend hour after hour placing parking tickets on car windshields? Some cities employ meter maids or high school boys for this innocuous and placid task, but many others burden veteran motorcycle patrolmen with it. The harrying of drunks is another time-consuming encumbrance for police. One-third of all arrests in the United States are for public drunkenness. In only a small minority of cases are the pedestrian drunks either dangerous or in danger, yet local law demands that the policeman clear the streets. One, two or 30 nights later, depending on the mood of the judge, the drunk is back, and the dreary routine begins all over again. Prostitution falls in the same category, and follows a monotonous rhythm of arrest, fine and back to work.

Some police thinkers urge a complete reevaluation of the policeman's job. Police concern with petty gambling and prostitution either proves a weary vexation to no permanent avail or invites corruption through swift, easy payoffs. And the 2,000,000 arrests each year for drunkenness appear to change the complexion of city streets not a whit. As for parking meters, experts ask: "Why send a man to do a boy's job?" Changes are under way to free police of routine duties. New York may use civilians, instead of police, to tow away cars from no-parking zones. Los Angeles Chief Thomas Reddin is experimenting with civilians to direct downtown traffic.

Some method must be found to channel police energies into the crucial battles for law and order.

Bright, new gadgets. The United States, well behind Europe in police technology, is about to witness a sunburst of advances. Within a few years, every major police department will be linked in a computerized maze to the FBI's National Crime Information Center, where records of felonies, wanted persons and stolen property will be instantly available for the the cop on the beat. Already, about 20 departments are connected on the initial loop. Some results have been spectacular. Cars halted in one state have been identified within 90 seconds as having been stolen in another. The national computer answers inquiries within 15 seconds. The remainder of the 90 seconds is consumed in radio relays from squad car to city or state police headquarters.

This sudden leap is somewhat like vaulting across an entire century of police procedure; for today, many police units have no more idea than 100 years ago of what is contained in criminal records of a police department a few miles away.

Another promising area is the substitution nonlethal, immobilizing sprays, liquids and gas for the deadly gun of the police officer. One of these, Mace, renders the human target helpless for about 15 minutes, enabling an officer to brave an assailant armed with knife or club without risking a shot that could prove fatal. It is already in use in a number of departments. The advantage in tense racial areas, where the shooting of a Negro suspect by a policeman touches off a flaming riot, is obvious. New devices for civil disorders include immobilizing foams, a spray that renders a street too slick to stand upon and a squirted dye that is used to mark fleeing suspects. In Los Angeles, searchlight helicopters track nighttime burglars. Traffic control by sensors and closed-circuit TV is still another avenue for advance. Quiet direction of downtown traffic by television has been used for some time in West German cities. American police technology is finally awakening after two centuries of slumber.

But no brace new world of police science will change the stance of the officer on the beat. Like the infantry soldier, he remains the heart and the essence of the battle. Today, he is asked to fill an almost superhuman role with ancient tools, outmoded skills and crustacean attitudes. He needs more education, better training, new weapons, more pay, vastly more status and, above all, a new outlook toward his fellow citizens. "The Los Angeles Police Department," says a prominent police executive, "is one of the most professional in the world - and one of the most heartless. What I want are police officers who combine L.A.'s professionalism with heart, sympathy and understanding."

The American policeman will continue to be confused, disillusioned, frustrated and hostile until he learns to see the people he serves - of all races - as fellow human beings and until the bulk of the people on his beat call him friend, not foe.

Look

February 6, 1968

THE EMBATTLED COPS

The rapid, sometimes violent change in the American social order has brought with it an equally radical change in the role of those men asked to enforce that order, the police. Once a sentimentalized figure who delivered parking tickets and babies, directed traffic and parades and occasionally, at the risk of his own life, collared hardened criminals, the cop today has become the central actor in the urban morality play, sucked into the vortex of a social revolution he does not always understand. His major duties now include quelling riots, clearing campus buildings of dissident students and containing antiwar protesters.

Once asked only to control crime in the ghetto, he finds himself thrust into the role of social worker, responsible for fostering lines of communication between the police department and slum dwellers. Recent Supreme Court decisions designed to protect the rights of the accused and calls for Civilian Complaint Review Boards have whetted an increasingly acrimonious debate over the ability of the police to handle their new duties adequately and dispassionately.

William Turner, a former FBI agent and currently a staff writer for Ramparts magazine, speaks for the prosecution. Turner grants that many allegations of police brutality are groundless, that the police are forced to handle social problems they didn't create, that the policeman's lot is not an easy one. But he upbraids the average cop for persecuting minorities according to his own prejudices. Conventioneers who have drunk too much are escorted to taxis, he charges, while black people and Puerto Ricans are jailed for disorderly conduct. In Chicago in 1965, he points out, 36,607 Negroes were arrested on such a charge, 20 per cent of all arrests in the city that year. Turner also takes the cop to task for persecuting perpetrators of "victimless" crimes - homosexuals, derelicts, prostitutes - and for assuming the guilt of those bearded or poorly dressed citizens who do not conform to social norms.

These individual prejudices, Turner finds, are mirrored in the collective prejudices of police departments in America's leading cities. New York's Finest, he says, dump the dregs of the force into Harlem. The Los Angeles force is only 4 per cent Negro. Oakland's force, among the most bigoted by Turner's findings, is 3 per cent Negro in a city with a 25 per cent Negro population. He cites a police mock application form for the NAACP as an extreme but not wholly atypical index of police feeling toward blacks: "'Name of Mutha,' 'Number of Children Claimed on Relief,' 'Number of Children Legitimate (if any),' 'Marital Status: Check - Common Law, Shacked Up (or) Deserted' . . ."

Superficial: With the exception of San Francisco's model Community Relations Unit - which has sent blacks and Spanish-speaking plain-clothes men into the ghetto to understand slum problems - police efforts at easing tensions with minority groups have been largely superficial and ineffective. In Los Angeles, Turner points out, the Community Relations Board was prohibited from establishing a dialogue with militant groups like CORE, SNCC and the Black Muslims because the department didn't think them respectable.

Turner makes a strong case for the Civilian Complaint Review Board as a necessary check on police power and as a safety valve for members of the ghetto community who despair of taking their grievances before a police board. He defends the Court rulings that require the accused to be informed of his constitutional right to remain silent, citing a Massachusetts police chief: "Anyone who has had half an education knows his rights, and anyone connected with organized crime isn't going to talk either. So the only people this really protects are the ignorant, and that's not a bad thing."

Symptoms: But, to Turner, the policeman is also a victim. Underpaid and subjected to temptation, often minimally educated, he is asked to deal with social problems beyond his understanding. When crime figures zoom, he is the scapegoat for a society willing too often to deal with symptoms rather than the disease itself. He calls for recruitment of a new breed of policeman equipped to handle the role of uniformed social worker, sociologist and law-enforcement officer. "Society insists upon high standards for its schoolteachers, medical personnel and other specialists," he writes; "it should expect as much from the specialists to whom it entrusts the task of keeping law and order and the public safety." Communities displaying bumper stickers SUPPORT YOUR LOCAL POLICE should back that up with starting salaries above \$6,000 a year, Turner concludes.

Herbert T. Klein's book, an anecdotal reminiscence of a former New York City police lieutenant, is not so much a brief for the defense as an unwitting confirmation of what Turner describes as the "cop-mentality": "Spat upon by dissident elements, reviled by do-gooders, used by the politician, often lampooned in the press and hamstrung by deviously contrived laws and court decisions, the policeman is the man caught in the middle of our turbulent domestic scene." For Klein, the policeman is the general practitioner of the ghetto who goes about taking care of the poor and disabled. The constitutional guarantees upheld by the courts create a situation in which "the rights of society as a whole are being ignored in the attempt to protect the rights of a small, but very dangerous, element of the community." And Klein sees the black rioters as "children" being led astray by "Communist and anarchist rabble-rousers."

One senses in Klein's collections of cases solved and unsolved that he was a fair and overtly unprejudiced administrator of street justice. But his sentimental view of the policeman who, in the course of a riot, "might well have been stoned and shot at by the same youth he had helped bring into the world," and his conspiratorial view of a society out to undermine the police, only support Turner's call for a new breed of cop.

- Paul D. Zimmerman

RESPONSIBILITY IN 'THE YEAR OF THE POLICE'

The public reaction to the President's Riot Commission Report has been as varied and skittish as the report was outspoken. Notably skittish was Lyndon Johnson himself, who all but disowned his own commission because it neglected to praise what he has already done for the urban ghetto. Nevertheless the report started selling 100,000 copies a day and many buyers are reading it, which it richly deserves.

Two points in the report are worth special notice. After an impressive analysis of last summer's violence, the commission makes a direct assault on the white conscience, blaming our urban troubles on the bigotry which built the ghettos which nourish the riots. It also finds that white police practices constitute the most serious Negro grievance and that unless sweeping changes are made, U.S. society is headed for a state of "urban apartheid with semi-martial law."

Some critics fear that the report may invite more disorders, because of what Richard Nixon called its "tendency to lay the blame for the riots on everyone but the rioters." Columnist Joseph Kraft charged that it uses behavioral science to explain away Negro misbehavior, while treating the bigotry of low-income whites as personal guilt. The plumbers who so long refused to let Negroes into their union can also be explained by sociology. Their behavior is nonetheless outrageous - but so is the rioters'. Where does personal responsibility begin?

Violence is not the only nor the typical Negro reaction to the pressurized misery of the ghetto. Indeed, the report assumes that the Negro really wants equal opportunity in an integrated society. It attaches little importance to the black separatist movement, for example, although Stokely Carmichael and the Black Panthers are surely inviting violence (as well as apartheid) with their demand that all Negroes be let out of all U.S. jails.

Negro Americans have of course made striking progress toward equality, though the process has been long and lopsided. If the riot report shares this lopsidedness, it is mainly at the expense of those quieter Negroes who, having committed themselves to the "American dream," are in most need of elementary security against ghetto violence.

Here lies a second importance of the report: what it says about police behavior. This is resented by some police chiefs, but not the best of them. As Los Angeles' Chief Thomas Reddin calls it, 1968 is "the year of the policeman." On the balance between his courage and self-restraint depend our hopes of a peaceful summer. Fortunately, the report is well balanced on this subject.

The commission had the benefit of much hard work by the International Association of Chiefs of Police and Ramsey Clark's Department of Justice, which have been jointly conducting a series of seminars for police officials. Their emphasis is on riot prevention, not just control, and on the community relations programs which many police departments have already adopted. Some chiefs, like Milwaukee's, call these programs "hogwash" and seem to think stockpiling arms is prevention enough. But others are forging new links between patrolmen and the ghetto youths who have hitherto been just objects of insult-and-frisk. Thanks to the spreading drive to professionalize law enforcement, probably most U.S. cops have learned by now that fear and hatred are bad for their business. Or for anybody's, especially this year.

SOLVING CRIMES IN THE LAB

Scientific sleuthing is hampered by outdated skills and shortage of money.

As the FBI hunt for the murderer of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., stretched from Memphis to western Mexico this week, some of the hottest detective work was taking place in Washington. It is there that a 30.06 Remington rifle, the fragments of a bullet, a small suitcase, a palm print, and several fingerprints are being analyzed by the agency's crime laboratory.

FBI crime scientists face many obstacles in piecing together the clues to build an investigative file on the "long-nosed man" believed to be King's assassin. The FBI has records on where the rifle - believed to have been used to shoot King - was purchased. It also has the duplicate of an Alabama driver's license used to buy the rifle. But it is not clear whether a written gun purchase record exists to be used in handwriting analysis. And the hunting type (dum-dum) bullet fragments found in King's body may not contain enough individual markings for a detailed ballistics identification.

The difficulties slowing the laboratory hunt for King's killer are the same ones that are holding up crime detection in labs in a hundred cities around the country:

- Too many of the disciplines used by crime fighters are still in-exact sciences. This includes ballistics and the analysis of blood, hair, semen, paint, and handwriting.
- Not enough money is being spent for crime research. Though criminals become more sophisticated, budgets to collect scientific evidence remain the same, and most laboratories are understaffed and overworked.
- Some of the investigative tools of policemen have been vitiated by recent Supreme Court rulings. This has put more of a burden on scientific methods of investigation.

While the search for King's killer occupies headlines, similar detective work calling for the help of experts in analyzing physical and biological evidence is in difficulty elsewhere.

Disparity. In one city, the search for a gangland slayer started with an analysis of several pistol slugs. They were taken from the body of the victim of an internal Mafia dispute. Both the gun and the person who fired it are missing. Obviously, the crime will be tough to solve. And this as much as anything points up the disparity between the fictional world of Dick Tracy and the real world of crime scientists.

The inexact state of the various disciplines that a crime can call into play is not the only limitation to scientific sleuthing; it is hampered, too, by a lack of money. Commissioner Joseph Hunt of the U.S. Rehabilitation Services Administration has estimated that police activities, criminal courts, and correctional institutions cost the U.S. \$4-billion annually. Yet, in a day of manned space flights and giant atom smashers, science is unprepared to cut the cost - or incidence - of crime.

Ironically, several recent Supreme Court decisions have underscored the need for better scientific detection. For instance, the decision stemming from the 1966 Miranda case, under which a suspect cannot be interrogated without being advised of his constitutional rights, has put much more of a burden on law enforcement officials. "In effect," says Joseph M. English, head of the forensic sciences lab at Georgetown University, "the courts took away

a tool of the police and said you've got to be more scientific, 20th Century cops."

Before long the Supreme Court is expected to rule on three so-called "stop and frisk" cases. If it again rules against the police, says Professor Fred E. Inbau of Northwestern University (a former member of the Chicago police), it will force the police to be even more indirect in their methods.

Lab shortage. Scientific analysis of evidence is the responsibility of the 100 or so police crime labs around the country, most of which were first set up in the early 1930s. The infamous 1929 St. Valentine's Day Massacre, for example, found the Chicago police unequipped even to identify the slugs found in the six victims. This led to the establishment of a police lab on the campus of Northwestern University. The Chicago Police Department bought this lab for \$25,000 in 1938.

Seventeen states still do not have crime labs, nor do three-fourths of U.S. cities with populations of 100,000 or more. And while the 300 experts in the FBI's lab in Washington (with a budget this year of \$4.3 million) are available to local police departments, they are not always asked for their help.

Existing crime labs are also separated by wide degrees of competence. In a 1965 study by the American Academy of Forensic Sciences, 21 labs agreed on a comparison of their talents to analyze the same samples of blood. The study turned up a shocking disparity of competence. Most labs were using outdated procedures; others were testing for only three unknowns, while as many as ten comparison checks were routine in some labs.

Outdated. Over-all, says Dr. Henry C. Freimuth of Baltimore, a leading forensic toxicologist, "One-man police labs, with one man trying to do everything, are the problem. Mistakes are made, mistakes of commission and omission." Joseph D. Nicol, of the Illinois state crime lab, says that many labs are only "a small step beyond a latent fingerprint and photographic setup." Sherlock Holmes, Chicago police say, would be very much at home in a 1968 crime lab.

The labs face a monumental task, sometimes - but certainly not always - with astonishingly good results.

In 1965, the FBI crime lab helped the West Virginia State Police solve a gruesome homicide with a sophisticated new technique called neutron activation analysis. From bits of bone and tissue, mixed up with dirt and oil, the FBI was able to detect arsenic in a corpse.

For years, Mrs. Vonda J. Mullenax (Mabel, to the FBI) had been slowly poisoning her husband with arsenic. Then Mabel grew impatient and choked her husband to death, burned his body, and buried it. On the strength of the FBI's evidence, Mabel was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment.

Error. But crime labs also make mistakes. Joseph T. Shea, an Air Force enlisted man, served six years in prison because of an error by a Dade County (Fla.) crime lab.

Shea tried to fake his way to a medical discharge by presenting his bloodied shirt to his sergeant and claiming no knowledge of what had happened. Months later he confessed under questioning to the slaying of Mrs. Mary Meslener, a pretty blonde who worked for National Airlines.

The shirt, the prime piece of physical evidence at the trial, had been smeared with Shea's B-type blood. A crime lab technician testified that he found Shea's and "one spot" of the victim's O-type blood on the shirt. Shea was convicted on the strength of his confession and the lab report.

But a lie detector expert, a Dade County detective, and a Miami Herald newsman disagreed with the verdict and managed to have the case reopened six years later. Freimuth, who was called in from Baltimore, testified that he could not find Meslener's O-type blood. This time it took the jury less than an hour and a half to decide that Shea was not guilty of the crime.

Gaps. Experts cite a number of reasons for both the shortage of crime labs and for the many incompetent ones.

First, thousands of scientists and engineers are applying themselves to military problems and innovations in modern living, according to a February, 1967, report to the President's Commission on Law Enforcement & Administration of Justice. "But only a handful are working to control the crimes that injure or frighten millions of Americans each year," the report adds.

Second, there are few lines of communication to obtain the expertise of teachers and researchers at colleges and universities. Illinois Institute of Technology in Chicago is one major exception. This week IIT's Research Institute sponsored a 2nd National Symposium on Law Enforcement Science & Technology. About 1,000 persons attended to hear more than 100 papers on scientific crime detection. But by way of contrast, some 21,000 scientists were meeting at the same time in Atlantic City to hear 3,200 papers on basic research in biology.

Meanwhile, only a relative handful of criminologists are being turned out by U.S. colleges. The University of California at Berkeley started a criminalistics program in 1950 and has awarded 114 degrees. Georgetown, Michigan State, and John Jay College in New York City have comparatively new programs.

No glamour. The study of forensic pathology and toxicology is in similar straits. These medical specialties are offered in a variety of on-the-job training programs. But supply cannot meet demand. Few medical school curriculums offer even an introduction to these fields.

A third reason for the crime science lag was pointed up earlier this month when witnesses told the House of Representatives' subcommittee on science, research and development what was needed was an incentive program in crime R&D and to get U.S. industry involved.

"I get a great many inquiries from industry, particularly from aerospace people, asking what they can do for the crime lab," says Paul L. Kirk, professor emeritus of criminalistics from Berkeley. "It's like going into an African jungle and saying, 'What kind of aircraft can I sell you,' when there's not even a landing field."

Congress is now trying to hack out a rough "landing field" in the form of the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1967. The Senate and House bills contain wide differences, but both state a need for crime R&D. It would be administered by Justice Dept.'s new Office of Law Enforcement Assistance.

Commitment. In all, the U.S. commitment to crime research - by local, state, and federal sources - adds up to only about \$20-million this year. And most of this money goes for applied, rather than basic, crime research.

Some congressmen are now talking about spending \$100-million if the safe streets bill passes. Some of this would undoubtedly go for research. One proposal calls for regional crime labs.

But even this is not enough. The large (194 men) New York City Police Dept.'s Scientific Investigations Div. is already limited in how much it can do for eight nearby counties. "We would do the lab work on the homicide in Scarsdale, for example," says Deputy Inspector John Berryman, "but not the routine \$5,000 burglary."

To ease the load, Berryman ticks off a "wanted list" of more than a dozen innovations, such as a computerized bullet classification system, already under study by Computing Technology, Inc., of Tuxedo, N.Y.; portable smell detection devices such as those under development by Dr. Andrew Dravnieks of the Illinois Institute of Technology Research Institute; tri-dimensional X-ray equipment for suspicious packages; and voice identification systems.

Basic needs. Other criminologists cite more fundamental needs. They hope that research will eventually make it possible for police officers to submit conclusive evidence based on blood, hair, semen, and other samples.

Most crime labs still analyze blood by the four basic groups discovered in 1900. Labs usually deal with dried bloodstains, but there is still no way to tell the specific age of dried blood. Analysis for subgroups, enzymes, proteins, antigens, and white blood cells is the exception rather than the rule.

Neutron activation analysis, so important in solving the West Virginia murder, offers some good possibilities in determining hair specificity. But most crime labs still analyze hair by a microscope comparison technique.

Similarly, an analysis of semen is vitally important in rape cases. Yet, there is practically no research under way to find ways to determine individual specificity, although both chromosomes and sperm morphology offer obvious avenues of investigation.

Outdated. Phonics and word-picture methods have drastically changed the teaching of writing; photo cells, computers, and electronic devices have changed the methods. Yet the standard reference work for document examination dates to 1925.

And although the ballpoint pen has been around since 1945, it was not until last year that Mrs. Bette Hamman, working at Georgetown University, provided document examiners - and the courts - with spectrograms of 300 ballpoint inks.

Forensic medicine also faces many challenges. Dr. Milton H. Helpert, New York City's chief medical examiner, and Commander Charles J. Stahl of the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology note that such things as the age of a wound, the force required to produce it, or the specific time of death still cannot be accurately determined.

Hopes. The greatest prospect for progress may lie in the application of computers to crime analysis.

Last year, the FBI established a National Crime Information Center using computers to give police forces in every state access to files on known criminals, stolen property, and major crimes. The FBI is also building up a computerized file of bad check information.

But even the most sophisticated detection systems will have limits. One expert notes that in the case, for example, of the everyday mugging, "you can bring the FBI crime lab to the scene and the number of cases of this kind you are going to solve is infinitesimal."

The police come in for criticism for not protecting the crime scene and the evidence it contains. Says Miami attorney Harry W. Prebish, who was instrumental in the retrial of Joseph Shea: "There is never a crime committed that there isn't some physical evidence."

The police rely so much on eye-witness testimony and statements of defendants that too many cases go unsolved."

Withall, the feeling persists that while many judges and juries welcome scientific data, many others lack the scientific background to understand it. And there are those who believe that the usefulness of scientific evidence is diminished whenever a case is reviewed by a higher court.

Business Week

April 20, 1968

POLICE

Group Therapy

"Why don't you niggers like being called niggers?" the policeman asked. "You call yourselves that, don't you?" The response shot back: "Shut up, you blue honky." The policeman flushed with anger and resentment. But instead of lashing out with a fist or a night stick, he sat and nodded when asked: "Now do you understand?"

The thrust and counterthrust took place at one of a series of group-therapy sessions designed to promote understanding between Houston's police and Negroes. The six-week programs have been going on since last September. On each of six consecutive Fridays, as many as 200 policemen, divided into groups of 12 to 15, meet with equal numbers of citizens, both black and white - to thrash out differences. The fourth batch is now attending the three-hour sessions, each of which is guided by a trained psychologist.

Prone to Violence.

Sponsored by Houston businessmen who call themselves Community Effort, Inc., the program is run by a Negro, Dr. Melvin Sikes, a clinical psychologist at the city's Veterans Administration Hospital. The sessions begin with an intensive examination of the attitudes the police and the community groups have about themselves and each other. Distrust is mutual - and obvious - at the start. "The Negro is lazy and uncooperative." "He has no self-respect." "He's immoral, has no regard for life or property," say the police. "Police are cold, mechanical, rude," say the citizens. "They use foul language and call Negroes nigger, or boy, or uncle, or woman." "They treat suspects differently depending on their race and economic status, and they are prone to violence."

Required by the city government to attend, some Houston police grumbled, read paperbacks or worked crossword puzzles during initial sessions. At the time, Police Chief Herman Short, a tough traditionalist, helped little with snide remarks about "slobbering sociologists." But as the meetings progressed, he apologized for the slur, and even uncooperative officers began venting their feelings. At one meeting a veteran police sergeant blurted, "I've hated niggers all my life, and every time I see a car with a Texas Southern University sticker on it I'm going to harass the hell out of that driver." To his astonishment, he was met with applause and praise for frankness. Negroes are not always the most militant participants. Shouted one white college professor: "Racism is part of the air we breathe, and you white cops represent the worst of it! You're all fascists!"

At the end of the six-week course, for which they are paid \$54 each, the police fill out unsigned questionnaires. Thus far, 19 rated the course excellent, 92 very good, 253 good. Only 74 graded it either poor or a waste of time - or refused to fill out the survey form. And even Chief Short admits that he is pleased with the results. By late fall, all 1,400 of Houston's police will, as Short puts it, "have gotten a closer look at the people." Already Sikes has received reports from the city's Negro districts of increased courtesy and assistance by policemen. "I don't think there's any question that some change toward understanding is taking place," he says. "And with understanding comes a change in attitude, and then a change in behavior."

Time Magazine

GUN CONTROL

Gun Controls - How they work in Other Countries

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GUN CONTROLS - HOW THEY WORK IN OTHER COUNTRIES

National laws to restrict and police the ownership of guns are commonplace around the world. But measuring their effectiveness is not easy. Experience shows a law on the books is one thing, enforcement is another.

At a time when stricter gun laws are being demanded by many, including the President of the U.S., interest is turning to firearms regulations in other countries, and how they work.

Here are cabled dispatches from members of the staff of "U.S. News and World Report" describing gun controls - and their enforcement - in nations abroad:

PARIS

Until the outbreak of protests by students and workers in May, anyone in France could own a hunting rifle or a .22-caliber weapon without authorization or registration. Now all that is changed.

On May 29 the Interior Ministry imposed temporary control until national elections are over on June 30. During this period Government approval is needed to buy such a weapon, a process that takes about a month.

French arms dealers are outraged by what amounts to a total ban on current sales. One lamented: "We will be ruined; all we can do now is sell hunting clothes and dog collars."

In contrast to the purchasing of hunting rifles, the ownership of concealable firearms has always been controlled in France. If you want to buy a small gun you must apply to the local police station. The request is transmitted to the local prefect, who represents the Interior Ministry. After an inquiry lasting several weeks, the prefect gives or withholds authorization. In practice, authorization is rarely refused.

Homicide and armed-robbery rates are comparatively low in France. Armed holdups in the Paris area dropped from 88 in 1962 to six in 1966. The decline however, was generally attributed to tighter precautionary measures by store owners and banks, not to gun laws.

LONDON

The British can trace weapons legislation back to the fourteenth century. The actual licensing of guns started as early as 1870.

All firearms must be registered with the police; certificates are granted only after an extensive check of the applicant. No one under 14 can own a gun, nor can anyone with a criminal record.

In effect, police say, permission to possess a gun usually is granted only to supervised members of Britain's 4,500 gun clubs and such persons as farmers who need firearms to control vermin.

Violence involving guns is relatively unknown in Britain. Even organized criminals rarely resort to firearms. Police estimate that only 1 out of 1,000 criminals owns a gun. In a recent three-year period in England and Wales, of the 400,000 criminals arrested only 159 were carrying guns.

Likewise, ordinary citizens have little contact with guns. It is estimated that fewer than 1 in 50 Britons owns one.

As a result, Britain has one of the lowest incidences of violent crime. Out of 4,474 robberies in 1966, for example, only 340 involved use of guns. Most of the 137 murders in 1966 were committed by means other than firearms.

BONN

Each of West Germany's 11 states has gun laws that on their face seem to be among the most liberal anywhere. Anyone has the right to buy and own guns.

There is this important proviso: Everyone needs a special license "to carry weapons." Only the police can grant such a license. And police do so only if the applicant has a clean record and can prove he needs a weapon for self-defense or for professional reasons.

Hunters and members of shooting clubs can buy guns only from specified dealers, and also must have the special license.

Military weapons are not for sale, and there are no mail-order purchases of guns. Since the assassination of John F. Kennedy in 1963, a host of other weapons - brass knuckles, blackjacks, certain kinds of knives, even "too realistic" cap pistols - cannot be carried.

The Federal Criminal Investigation Department acknowledges that deaths caused by firearms are on the increase, but blames arms acquired illegally. There is, dealers say, a black market in pistols, many reaching here from Vietnam as "souvenirs."

ROME

The gun problem in Italy is less one of law than of enforcement.

No weapon of any kind can be bought without a license. All purchases must be registered with the police. For any firearms other than shotguns and other hunting weapons, an applicant has to make a good case for needing one.

Even in the face of these rigid regulations, Italy has been plagued by a rising crime rate.

One major cause is heavy traffic in clandestine arms. It is not difficult to get a gun on the black market. World War II weapons abound.

Illegal possession of guns became such a problem that Italy's Parliament last September passed an even stricter arms-control law. The new legislation makes the illegal sale or possession of a weapon a crime punishable by a jail term. Previously, violations were misdemeanors subject only to fines.

Not enough time has passed to determine the effect of the new law. One thing is clear, authorities agree: In Italy a law on the books is not enough; it must be enforced.

STOCKHOLM

Gun laws in Scandinavia are highly restrictive. Swedes cannot obtain any firearms without a license, which is granted only after careful examination and usually only for hunting and sport shooting. There are no mail-order sales. Few Swedes own handguns.

Crime has risen steadily in recent years, but the rate remains low by U.S. standards.

GENEVA

There is a rifle or pistol in the typical home in Switzerland, yet killing and armed-robbery rates are among the lowest in the Western world.

Under the Swiss militia system, servicemen must keep their weapons and ammunition at home. But this rarely leads to abuse.

All sales of handguns require police licenses and are registered. Sale is prohibited to ex-convicts, alcoholics and the mentally deranged.

People who want to carry a handgun need a special license. These are granted only to such people as bank employees, watchmen and jewelers.

Swiss police insist that tough laws alone do not prevent violent crimes. These officials are convinced that low crime rates in this country result in part from education and from the absence of big-city slums.

MEXICO CITY

Mexico's Department of Defense is responsible for the registration of all weapons in the country, but Mexican officials admit that anyone who has the money can readily buy a firearm without registration.

Army rifles and police pistols are obtainable on the black market. Shopkeepers say they will fill mail orders - even though such orders are illegal - if payment is guaranteed.

There is a high rate of violence for the country generally.

Mexican officials relate the incidence of crime to the ease with which guns are acquired. But they point out that armed robbery here is not as common as violence attributable to personal quarrels and family feuds.

RIO DE JANEIRO

Latin Americans are gun-toters despite strict firearms laws in most countries.

In Brazil, all stores selling guns must register with police and must keep a record of persons buying arms. A hard-to-get license is required to import a gun or carry one.

Nevertheless, in 1966, Rio averaged 745 armed robberies a month. Gas station hold-ups are so commonplace that owners often furnish free gas to police for improved protection.

Criminals can get guns through smuggling, theft or purchases from corrupt military and police. Law-abiding citizens, in turn, feel that they must arm themselves in defense against city robbers, guerrillas and rural bandits.

Brazilian businessmen hire private police to supplement official protection. And in neighboring Colombia, businessmen carry pistols and even submachine guns in their cars to foil kidnapers.

OTTAWA

Generally speaking, it is as easy for a Canadian to buy a sporting rifle or a shotgun as it is for an American. That's not so with "offensive weapons."

Those include pistols and rifles and shotguns that can be folded or have short barrels. Licenses are needed to sell or trade offensive weapons, and permits must be obtained to carry them.

Now legislation has been proposed to make controls even stiffer.

Crime in Canada has been growing in the big cities at a rate comparable to that in major U.S. cities. Still, rates for crimes of violence are far lower, and most Canadians credit the stiff gun laws.

TOKYO

This crowded country of 100 million probably has some of the strictest arms regulations anywhere.

No one may possess handguns except police, military personnel, Japan's 50 Olympic Games marksmen and a few Government research agencies. A violation is punishable by a maximum of five years in jail or a \$556 fine.

Hunting guns - rifles, shotguns and air guns - are licensed by Japan's Public Safety Commission. No one under 18 can possess a hunting weapon, nor can psychopaths, former convicts, drifters and racketeers.

Because of weapons restrictions, authorities say, firearms offences are low. Last year, out of 92,100 cases of murder, robbery, injury, rape and blackmail, only 120 involved firearms.

CRIMINAL LAW - UNITED STATES

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LAW, ORDER AND THE HIGH COURT -
A STATE CHIEF JUSTICE SPEAKS OUT

Why the increasing disrespect for law and order in America? Are the rulings of the Supreme Court in recent years the cause of it all? A distinguished State jurist examines the problem - and suggests a course of action to help eliminate it.

Full text of an address by Chief Justice John C. Bell, Jr., of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, to the District Attorney's Association of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, Pa., on July 8, 1968:

The land of law and order - the land which all of us have loved in prose and poetry and in our hearts - has become a land of unrest, lawlessness, violence and disorder - a land of turmoil, of riotings, lootings, shootings, confusion and Babel. And you who remember your Genesis remember what happened to Babel.

Respect for law and order - indeed, respect for any public or private authority - is rapidly vanishing. Why? There isn't just one reason. There are a multitude and a combination of reasons. Many political leaders are stirring up unrest, discontent and greed by promising every voting group heaven on earth, no matter what the cost. Many racial leaders demand - not next year, or in the foreseeable future, but right now - a blue moon for everyone with a gold ring around it.

Moreover, many racial leaders, many church leaders and many college leaders advocate mass civil disobedience and intentional violation of any and every law which a person dislikes.

We all know, and we all agree, that there is a need for many reforms, and that the poor and the unemployed must be helped. However, this does not justify the breaking of any of our laws or the resort to violence, or burnings and lootings of property or sit-ins, lie-ins, sleep-in students, or mass lie-downs in the public streets, or the blockading of buildings, or rioting mobs.

Television shows which feature gun battles - of course, unintentionally - add their bit to stimulating widespread violence. Furthermore, the blackmailing demands of those who advocate a defiance of law and order under the cloak of worthy objectives, and commit all kinds of illegal actions which they miscall civil rights, are harming not helping, their cause.

Let's face it - a dozen recent, revolutionary decisions by a majority of the Supreme Court of the U.S. in favor of murderers, robbers, rapists and other dangerous criminals, which astonish and dismay countless law-abiding citizens who look to our courts for protection and help, and the mollycoddling of lawbreakers and dangerous criminals by many judges - each and all of these are worrying and frightening millions of law-abiding citizens and are literally jeopardizing the future welfare of our country.

Is this still America? Or are we following in the footsteps of ancient Rome, or are we becoming another revolutionary France?

Let's consider some of these problems one by one. In the first place, we cannot think or talk about crime and criminals without thinking about the newspapers and other news media. Our Constitution, as we all remember, guarantees the "freedom of the press," and this freedom of the press means an awful lot to our country, even though it isn't absolute and unlimited.

We all know that newspapers are written, edited and published by human beings, and therefore it is impossible for a newspaper to be always accurate or always fair or always right. Nevertheless, the newspapers and other news media are terrifically important in our lives and particularly in showing up incompetent or crooked public officials and dangerous criminals. Indeed, it is not an exaggeration to say that they are absolutely vital and indispensable for the protection of the public against crime and criminals.

No matter what unrealistic people may say, the only way it is possible for law-abiding persons to adequately protect themselves against criminals is to be informed of a crime as soon as it happens, and all relevant details about when and where and how the crime occurred, together with pertinent data about the suspected criminal or criminals.

I repeat, this is the quickest and surest way, although, of course, not the only way our people can be alerted and protect themselves.

For these reasons, it is imperative that we must resist constantly and with all our power, every attempt to "muzzle" the press by well-meaning and unrealistic persons who mistakenly believe that this press coverage with its protective shield for the public will prevent a fair trial.

I need hardly add that if the press publicity so prejudices a community that a fair trial for the accused cannot be held therein, the courts possess, and whenever necessary exercise, the power to transfer the trial of such a case to another county in Pennsylvania.

Let's stop kidding the American people. It is too often forgotten that crime is increasing over six times more rapidly than our population. This deluge of violence this flouting and defiance of the law and this crime wave cannot be stopped, and crime cannot be eliminated by pious platitudes and by governmental promises of millions and billions of dollars. We have to stop worshiping Mammon and return to worshiping God, and we next have to change, if humanly possible, the coddling of criminals by our courts.

The recent decisions of a majority of the Supreme Court of the United States, which shackle the police and the courts and make it terrifically difficult - as you well know - to protect society from crime and criminals, are, I repeat, among the principal reasons for the turmoil and the near-revolutionary conditions which prevail in our country, and especially in Washington.

No matter how atrocious the crime or how clear the guilt, the Supreme Court never discuss in their opinions or even mention the fact that the murderer, robber or dangerous criminal or rapist, who has appealed to their court for justice is undoubtedly guilty, and they rarely ever discuss the rights and the protection of the law-abiding people in our country. Instead, they upset and reverse convictions of criminals who pleaded guilty or were found guilty recently or many years ago, on newly created technical and unrealistic standards made of straw.

Although I do not doubt their sincerity, most judges, most lawyers and most of the law-abiding public believe that they have invented these farfetched interpretations of our Constitution with a Jules Verne imagination and a Procrustean stretch which out-Procrustes Procrustes; and either legally or constitutionally they must be changed.

Now, here is where you come in. The people of Pennsylvania need, as never before in our history, district attorneys who will without fear or favor act promptly, vigorously and, of course, fairly, to prosecute and convict the lawless, the violent and the felonious criminals who are alarming and terrifying our society. How can you do this? There are several ways which occur to me, and I am sure numerous additional ones will occur to you.

The first is: You must prosecute as quickly as possible all persons who violate any law, no matter how or under what cloak of sheep's clothing they may attempt to justify their criminal actions.

"Newly Created Rights" of Criminals.

Second: Study - and you will have to study as never before - all of the many United States Supreme Court decisions handed down in the last few years concerning crime and criminals, their confessions and their newly created rights. These are so numerous that I will not have time to analyze and discuss them. However, I will capsulize my feelings with respect thereto by the following quotations from the dissenting opinions of *Wesberry v. Sanders* (on apportioning congressional districts so one person's vote is equal to another's) which said, *inter alia*: "...The constitutional right which the Court creates is manufactured out of whole cloth:" and in the dissenting opinion in *Lucas v. Colorado General Assembly* (on apportioning the Colorado legislature on the basis of population), where one of the dissenting opinions said: "To put the matter plainly, there is nothing in all the history of this Court's decisions which supports this constitutional rule. The Court's Draconian pronouncement, which makes unconstitutional the legislatures of most of the 50 states, finds no support in the words of the Constitution, in any prior decision of this Court, or in the 175-year political history of our federal union..."

In the very recent case of *Witherspoon v. Illinois*, which was decided on June 3 of this year, the dissenting Justices went even further, and said that the majority opinion was completely without support in the record and was "very ambiguous." With these conclusions I strongly agree.

However, what is more important is the question of what *Witherspoon* really holds. The majority opinion thus summarizes it:

"Specifically, we hold that a sentence of death cannot be carried out if the jury that imposed or recommended it was chosen by excluding veniremen for cause simply because they voiced general objections to the death penalty or expressed conscientious or religious scruples against its infliction... Nor does the decision in this case affect the validity of any sentence other than one of death. Nor, finally, does today's holding render invalid the conviction, as opposed to the sentence, in this or any other case... We have concluded that neither the reliance of law-enforcement officials nor the impact of a retroactive holding on the administration of justice warrants a decision against the fully retroactive application of the holding we announce today."

Third: You will have to more carefully and more thoroughly prepare your cases than ever before, especially on the question of the voluntariness and admissibility of confessions, in order to avoid new trials, now or 25 years from now.

Why Records Are Important

Fourth: You will have to personally make sure that a complete, detailed record is kept of all the trial and pretrial and postconviction proceedings in every case, in order to adequately answer and refute, immediately or many years after the trial, a convict's contentions that he was deprived of a number of his constitutional rights.

These allegations of unconstitutionality may include a contention that his confession or guilty plea was coerced or involuntary; or that he did not have a lawyer at the taxpayers' expense at the time of his confession, or any time to adequately prepare his case; or that he was not advised or did not understand all his rights at every critical stage of the trial and pretrial proceedings, including his right to remain silent; and all his other required constitutional warnings; or that he was not competent to stand trial; or that he was insane; or that his lawyer was incompetent; or that he was not advised of his rights to appeal and to have a tax-paid lawyer represent him in his appeal; and also every imaginable lie which he can invent; as well as every technical defense which an astute criminal lawyer can, after the trial or after many postconviction proceedings, conceive.

Fifth: You will have to aid, of course, diplomatically, every trial judge, in order that his rulings and his charge to the jury and his statement of the law and the facts are accurate, adequate, fair and comply with all the recently created technical standards.

Sixth: And this is very, very, very important - I strongly recommend:

First, that your association state courteously and publicly the position of the District Attorney's Association of Pennsylvania with respect to every decision of the Supreme Court of the United States and of an appellate court of Pennsylvania, which the association is convinced is unfair to our law-abiding people and is unjustified by the Constitution or by any statutory law, together with the reasons and the legal authorities which support your position; and that you simultaneously send a copy of all of the association's recommendations, resolutions and criticisms to the Supreme Court of the United States, and to the appellate courts of Pennsylvania.

Second, that each of you write, and likewise be sure to see the members of the State legislature from your district and your Congressman and your two United States Senators about the association's recommendations and resolutions and criticisms, and the reasons for the association's opinions and convictions.

Finally: You must fight with all your might and power and as never before for all the law-abiding people of our wonderful State who are consciously or unconsciously relying upon you and the courts to protect them from felonious criminals and from all lawbreakers.

LAW AND ORDER

His own Senate Majority Leader having threatened that Congress would override a veto, the President last week signed the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1968. He did it reluctantly. It is a bastard version of his original proposal to the Congress, made in February of last year. Mr. Johnson believes it "contains more good than bad." It does not. It should have been vetoed. The best part of it, and that is flawed, is the authorization in Title I of \$400 million in federal funds, over the next two years to improve police performance (on which we now spend over \$2.5 billion annually). The flaws in Title I are a mandatory emphasis on riot control, which is not where the crime is, and the absence of any pressure on police forces to hire Negroes; funds can go to lily-white forces.

The worst sections of the bill, however, are those dealing with wiretapping (much too broad), gun control (too weak), and limitations on rights of accused (damaging to civil liberties and pointless as a crime control measure). Local police are to be allowed to wiretap and eavesdrop in a wide variety of instances, and do so for 48 hours without a warrant, if in their judgment an "emergency" exists. Mr. Johnson took note of this. "If we are not very careful and cautious in our planning" he said, "these legislative provisions could result in producing a nation of snoopers bending to the keyholes of the homes and offices of America, spying on our neighbors. I believe this action goes far beyond the effective and legitimate needs of law enforcement. The right of privacy is a valued right. But in a technologically advanced society, it is a vulnerable right. That is why we must strive to protect it all the more against erosion." Title VI merely outlaws the mailing of handguns and ammunition to individuals, and the sale over the counter of handguns to residents of another state, or to persons under 21. Since the grant-in-aid provisions are not satisfactory, and since the gun control section is almost trivial, the President's reason for signing the bill is not convincing. It would have been better to start all over again.

Clearly, the popular mood as reflected by the Congress is anxious, punitive, and short-sighted. That is understandable. One doesn't have to look beyond one's neighborhood for the reasons. Crime is not a nightmare of the right wing. It is real and menacing. The tendency in some quarters to blame crime on the "coddling" of criminals by soft-headed civil libertarians, or even on poor Dr. Spock, is, of course nonsense. But it is also nonsense to think that we can be indifferent to the need for better police work and expect less crime. The public is right to demand that more be done, and done better. Two years ago, and the situation has worsened since, 43 per cent of people polled in the high crime areas of two large cities were staying off the streets at night, and 35 per cent of them no longer spoke to strangers, because of their fear of crime. Last year, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice made known what the public had long suspected, that FBI statistics on crime underestimate it; the crime rate was "several times greater." "The amount of personal injury...is almost twice as much as the UCR (Uniform Crime Reports of the FBI) rate, and the amount of property crime more than twice as much as the UCR rate for individuals. Forcible rapes were more than three and a half times the reported rate, burglaries three times, aggravated assaults and larcenies of \$50 and over more than double, and robbery 50 percent greater than the reported rate." Most of these crimes; the Commission found, are committed by boys and young men, and in cities. The Commission, in a model report, put forward over 200 recommendations from assuring minimum family incomes to a wide range of methods for improving police work. Many of the same recommendations, sober,

well thought out, were made again by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders this year. But Congress could not be expected to heed that commission's findings when Mr. Johnson himself acted coolly toward them.

Hobbes, writing in another violent and disorderly age, "where every man is Enemy to every man," concluded that only force could hold the passions in check. The end of that road is a police state, an attitude of mind in which order, however secured, seems the highest public good. Even liberty may be surrendered, in desperation, in exchange for the promise of safety. People flee from a "freedom" which is anarchy. We are not at that point yet, but we're too near it for comfort.

Of course, crime and violence are directly related to poverty, racial discrimination, bad schooling, unemployment and all the rest. And, as the Crime Commission said in 1967, no system of criminal justice, "however well staffed or organized, no level of material well-being for all, will rid a society of crime if there is not...a widespread belief that by and large the government and the social order deserve credence, respect and loyalty." But these larger problems are not going to be solved next month or next year, even with the most farsighted, well-financed public and private programs. Meanwhile, agencies for law enforcement must be adequately staffed, well-trained, equipped with the most modern (non-lethal) weapons, and representative of all the people in the communities - not just whites.

DISSENT AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

by Justice Abe Fortas

Many thoughtful Americans are wrestling with the problem of dissent and disobedience in these traumatic times, including Justices of the U.S. Supreme Court. The paragraphs below have been selected from Justice Abe Fortas' booklet, Concerning Dissent and Civil Disobedience. The selection does not purport to present all the facets of the problem developed by Mr. Justice Fortas. For that we suggest a reading of the booklet, which is a Signet Special Broadside, published by the New American Library, and available at most bookstores for fifty cents.

The Editors

I am a man of the law, I have dedicated myself to uphold the law and to enforce its commands. I fully accept the principle that each of us is subject to law; that each of us is bound to obey the law enacted by his government.

But if I had lived in Germany in Hitler's days, I hope I would have refused to wear an armband, to Heil Hitler, to submit to genocide. This I hope, although Hitler's edicts were law until Allied weapons buried the Third Reich.

If I had been a Negro living in Birmingham or Little Rock or Plaquemines Parish, Louisiana, I hope I would have disobeyed the state law that said I might not enter the public waiting room reserved for "whites."

I hope I would have insisted upon going into the parks and swimming pools and schools which state or city law reserved for "whites."

I hope I would have had the courage to disobey, although the segregation ordinances were presumably law until they were declared unconstitutional.

How, then, can I reconcile my profound belief in obedience to law and my equally basic need to disobey these laws? Is there a principle, a code, a theory to which a man, with honor and integrity, may subscribe? Or is it all a matter of individual judgment? Do we live in a trackless jungle? Is there, or is there not, a path that law and integrity mark out through the maze of tangled obligations and conflicting loyalties?

Above all, it is critically important for us to know whether violence is essential, lawlessness necessary - or whether there are effective alternatives.

The burning of draft cards or American flags involves direct violation of law. Laws forbidding the burning or desecration of the national flag have existed for many years, and it is hardly likely that anyone would seriously contest their constitutionality or legality. And if the law forbidding the burning of a draft card is held to be constitutional and valid, the fact that the card is burned as a result of noble and constitutionally protected motives is no help to the offender.

Despite the limits which the requirements of an ordered society impose, the protected weapons of protest, dissent, criticism, and peaceable assembly are enormously powerful. Largely as a result of the use of these instruments by Negroes, the present

social revolution was launched: by freedom marchers; organized boycotts; picketing and mass demonstrations; protest and propaganda. And by the use of the powerful instruments of dissent by people opposed to the war in Vietnam - by dissent expressed in the press, the pulpit, on public platforms, and in the colleges and universities - issues of vast consequence have been presented with respect to the war in Vietnam, and, without doubt, national decisions and the course of that war have been affected.

War tends to breed its own imperatives. War tends to create dangers or the fear of danger to the state, and the state is always apt to respond to fear by taking measures which its officials consider necessary for its defense, and which sometimes are far more drastic than is justified.

In our system, the courts have the ultimate responsibility of striking the balance between the state's right to protect itself and its citizens, and the individual's right to protest, dissent, and oppose. In the sense that I have described, neither of these rights is absolute. We have entrusted the courts with the task of striking the balance in individual cases, on the basis of principles stated in the Constitution in terms which are necessarily general and which leave room for differences of opinion - even among Justices of the Supreme Court.

Under our system, as soon as the legal process is initiated, the state and the individual are equals. The courts are not instruments of the executive or legislative branches of the government. They are totally independent - subordinate only to the Constitution and to the rule of law.

The phrase "civil disobedience" has been grossly misapplied in recent years. Civil disobedience, even in its broadest sense, does not apply to efforts to overthrow the government or to seize control of areas or parts of it by force, or by the use of violence to compel the government to grant a measure of autonomy to part of its population. These are programs of revolution. They are not in the same category as the program of reformers who - like Martin Luther King - seek changes within the established order.

He may be motivated by the highest moral principles. He may be passionately inspired. He may, indeed, be right in the eyes of history or morality or philosophy. These are not controlling. It is the state's duty to arrest and punish those who violate the laws designed to protect private safety and public order.

The Supreme Court of the United States has said, over and over, that the words of the First Amendment mean what they say. But they mean what they say and not something else. They guarantee freedom to speak and freedom of the press - not freedom to club people or to destroy property. The First Amendment protects the right to assemble and to petition, but it requires - in plain words - that the right be peaceably exercised.

(Dr Martin Luther King Jr.) said that many Negroes would disobey "unjust laws". These he defined as laws which a minority is compelled to observe but which are not binding on the majority. He said that this must be done openly and peacefully, and that those who do it must accept the penalty imposed by law for their conduct. This is civil disobedience in a great classic tradition.

The revolt (of youth) has found impetus, reason, and outlet in the opposition to the war in Vietnam and to the draft. Many of the younger generation as well as some of their elders (justifiably or not) have come to regard this as a war of a small people against oppression by a vast power, as a struggle for national unity, or as a purely civil war in which our country is "brutally" participating. This has reinforced the natural and familiar opposition of many young men to military service, and especially to compulsory military service. In the minds of these young people, the draft is bad enough; but to be drafted to fight a war which they are led to believe is disreputable, is intolerable.

We must accept the discomforts necessarily implicit in a large lawful demonstration because, in a sense, it is part of the dynamics of democracy which depends for its vitality upon the vigorous confrontation of opposing forces. But we cannot and should not endure physical assault upon person or property. This sort of assault is ultimately counter-productive. It polarizes society, and in any polarization, the minority group, although it may achieve initial, limited success, is likely to meet bitter reprisal and rejection of its demands.

In my judgment civil disobedience - the deliberate violation of law - is never justified in our nation where the law being violated is not itself the focus or target of the protest. So long as our governments obey the mandate of the Constitution and assure facilities and protection for the powerful expression of individual and mass dissent, the disobedience of laws which are not themselves the target of the protest - the violation of law merely as a technique of demonstration - constitutes an act of rebellion, not merely of dissent.

It is only in respect to such laws - laws that are basically offensive to fundamental values of life or the Constitution - that a moral (although not a legal) defense of law violation can possibly be urged. Anyone assuming to make the judgment that a law is in this category assumes a terrible burden. He has undertaken a fearful moral as well as legal responsibility. He should be prepared to submit to prosecution by the state for the violation of law and the imposition of punishment if he is wrong or unsuccessful. He should even admit the correctness of the state's action in seeking to enforce its laws, and he should acquiesce in the ultimate judgment of the courts.

"FOR CIVIL RIGHTS - AGAINST CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE"

(Widespread misunderstanding prevails in America today concerning the relationship between civil rights and civil disobedience. Ten days before Governor Agnew of Maryland was nominated by the Republicans for the Vice Presidency, he made a speech in New York City dealing with this question. Associate Justice Fortas of the Supreme Court, often referred to as a "liberal," expressed parallel views in a booklet published in May 1968. Excerpts from both are given below.-David Lawrence, Editor)

By Governor Spiro T. Agnew

Willingness to tolerate individual irresponsibility under any circumstances other than insanity can crumble the walls of a constitutional democracy. . .

In excusing individual responsibility we condone lawlessness and encourage cynical leaders to exploit the madness of the mob. We tacitly endorse such inflammatory statements as Rap Brown's "violence is as American as cherry pie." Remarks like this. . . have created an aura of belief that rioting is the inalienable right of the ghetto resident.

If one wants to pinpoint the cause of riots, it would be this permissive climate and the misguided compassion of public opinion. It is not the centuries of racism and deprivation that have built to an explosive crescendo but the fact that lawbreaking has become a socially acceptable and occasionally stylish form of dissent. . .

Civil disobedience, at best, is a dangerous policy, since it opens the path for each man to be judge and jury of which laws are unjust and may be broken. Moreover, civil disobedience leads inevitably to riots, and riots condoned lead inevitably to revolution - which, incidentally, is a word we are hearing more and more frequently from advocates of black power. . .

Capitulation to violence, either to keep the peace or from misguided compassion, is suicidal for society.

While hardening of attitudes and polarization is paralyzing, an acceptance of mass guilt coupled with an abrogation of individual responsibility could be disastrous for this great country of ours. (From a speech on July 30 before Greek Orthodox Youth of America.)

In my opinion, I can be entirely for civil rights and entirely against civil disobedience. I'm for the right to demonstrate within the confines of free speech. That's a civil right. But when you cross that line and begin to break laws simply because you are morally convinced that those laws are unjust, whose judgment is proper about what is unjust and what is just? This, obviously, can't be left to an individual's decision. (From an interview in last week's issue of this magazine.)

By Justice Abe Fortas

The motive of civil disobedience, whatever its type, does not confer immunity for law violation. Especially if the civil disobedience involves violence or a breach of public order prohibited by statute or ordinance, it is the state's duty to arrest the dissident. If he is properly arrested, charged, and convicted, he should be punished by fine or imprisonment, or both, in accordance with the provisions of law, unless the law is invalid in general or as applied. . .

In the riots following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., the Negroes may have been understandably inflamed by the murder of their leading advocate of nonviolence. But that provides no escape for the consequences of their conduct. Rioters should be arrested, tried, and convicted. . .

A citizen cannot demand of his government or of other people obedience to the law, and at the same time claim a right in himself to break it by lawless conduct, free of punishment or penalty.

Some propagandists seem to think that people who violate the laws of public order ought not to be arrested and punished if their violation has protest as its purpose. By calling the criminal acts "civil disobedience," they seek to persuade us that offenses against public and private security should be immune from punishment and even commended. They seek to excuse physical attacks upon police; assaults upon recruiters for munitions firms and for the armed services; breaking windows in the Pentagon and in private stores and homes; robbing stores; trespassing on private and official premises; occupying academic offices; and even pillaging, looting, burning, and promiscuous violence.

We are urged to accept these as part of the First Amendment freedoms. We are asked to agree that freedom to speak and write, to protest and persuade, and to assemble provides a sanctuary for this sort of conduct. But that is nonsense.

(From a booklet entitled "Concerning Dissent and Civil Disobedience," published by The New American Library, Inc., New York City.)

CRIMINAL PROCEDURE

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ALABAMA:

OLD STORY, NEW ENDING

Ocie Lee DeVance's story was short and ugly: white cops picked him up at a Notasulga, Alabama nightspot on a charge of disorderly conduct. They hauled him to headquarters, called him nigger and beat him up, made him dance to volleys from their police revolvers, then let him go with orders to keep his mouth shut. It was an old story; what was new was that DeVance, 22, was telling it to Negro sheriff Lucius Amerson of Macon County, and Amerson's subsequent action last week marked a historic departure. He arrested the two accused white law officers, Notasulga Police Chief Bobby Singleton and Alabama State Trooper James H. Bass, on warrants charging assault and battery.

"I will by no means permit this kind of activity to go on in Macon County," Amerson said. "It's a disgrace to have to go out and arrest either law-enforcement officer on charges like this." While Singleton and Bass quickly made the \$300 bail, Amerson announced he would ask the county grand jury to look into the case. He also requested the FBI to investigate for a civil-rights violation, and the Mobile FBI office said it would.

Such action against a once-invulnerable white establishment came as a dramatic surprise even in a predominantly Negro (80 per cent) county whose law enforcement is in the hands of the South's first Negro sheriff since Reconstruction. Actually the only notable complaint either blacks or whites have registered against Amerson since he took office in 1967 is his diligence as a traffic monitor.

Last week, chance brought Amerson a further opportunity to demonstrate his effectiveness. Even as Amerson talked to newsmen about arresting the white policemen, into his office walked one Robert H. Redford, a gaunt white Alabaman who claimed that he, too, had been beaten by Chief Singleton and one of his deputies. Before the day was out Amerson booked Singleton on a second charge of assault and battery.

TWELVE MISSING MEN

In New York City, the envelope's postmark carries a patriotic bromide: "Jury service supports law and order and the American way of life." Inside, the official letter solemnly announces, "You are hereby summoned to attend, usually for two weeks, as a trial juror in. . ."

To the average first-timer, the summons may seem like an invitation to share in the titillating, judicial mystique of hushed courtrooms, leggy witnesses and histrionic clashes (a la Perry Mason). But for veteran jurors, another call to service often conjures up quite a different vision; endless days of waiting in a drafty Gothic chamber rereading last month's National Geographic, interrupted by lunching at a cheap restaurant or government cafeteria - and all for the per diem pay rate of \$5 (Texas) to \$14 (Massachusetts). Indeed one study found that the typical juror spends six out of every nine days simply waiting to be impaneled for a case.

Gap: The upshot of such letdowns is a growing disenchantment with jury duty that, in some urban areas, threatens the depth and diversity of the jury pool. Ironically, the problem is surfacing just when traditional discriminations are receding. President Johnson recently signed into law a bill requiring that all Federal jury members be chosen at random rather than by the old "key man" system, whereby leading citizens suggested the names of friends and associates (thereby excluding the poor and uneducated.)

At the other end of the economic scale, however, a different sort of juror gap is gradually widening. According to legal experts, more and more welleducated, middle and upper-class citizens are copping out of jury duty through a variety of machinations. If the trend continues, concludes a spokesman for the New York State Judicial Conference, "the cross-sectional character of our juries will be in serious danger."

The escape process begins with the method of selection. Since most cities choose prospective jurors from telephone directories or voter registration lists, the individual who keeps an unlisted number or is politically apathetic is automatically overlooked. Others simply ignore the summons - and almost always get away with it. In New York, where jury delinquency can draw a \$250 fine or five days in jail, a full 20 per cent of those summoned never reply. But as court clerk Norman Goodman admits, "It's bad publicity to prosecute - and besides the number of delinquents is too large and the court staff too small."

The law, in fact, provides an ample number of loopholes. Some 70 occupations are currently exempt from jury duty in the various states, and the list grows longer with every legislative session. Aside from motherhood, which optionally excuses women in 32 states, the list includes doctors, lawyers, policemen, fireman, clergymen, teachers and newspapermen. Mississippi also exempts professional gamblers; Texas, train conductors, and Illinois, funeral directors.

Sometimes the basis for the exemption is an antiquated precedent. In 1784, for example, the loyal troops of Boston's Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company were excused from jury duty by a state law; today the Ancients is an exclusive club of 200 elderly Bostonians - but the exemption still sits on the books.

More often, political clout accomplishes the trick. The New York Legislature is currently considering a bill that would remove certified psychologists from the jury pool. Behind the measure stands a coalition of psychologists ("Any interruption in therapy is harmful to the patient," explains the executive director of the New York State Psychological Assoc.) and defense lawyers ("Instead of just considering the evidence, psychologists psychoanalyze everything," complains a Manhattan attorney). This spring the bill was passed by the state Senate, whose 57 members include 43 lawyers.

Cop-out: For the nonexempt who just can't be bothered, getting excused from a jury stint is often as easy as the asking. Extreme inconvenience, bad health and hardship remain the only grounds for excusal (e.g., the one-man-businessman), but many court officials interpret the rule loosely enough to include vacations, sick relatives and assorted psychological traumas. In San Francisco recently, a prospective woman juror arrived in court toting two bird cages containing twenty canaries, then begged off on the ground that her birds would slip into ornithological depression if she were absent. The judge was happy to oblige, commenting that her performance with the canaries pointed to more serious problems.

The real escape artists, however, tote attache cases. "The biggest problem we have is getting businessmen to serve," says one appellate court clerk. "They feel their obligation to the community is limited to contributing to charities or serving on committees - and they make every effort to duck jury duty." An exaggeration, perhaps, but there is little question that some executives know how to beat the rap. As Los Angeles Judge Harold Schweitzer puts it: "We'll get a call from an attorney in the man's corporate legal department saying that for business reasons - usually travel - the man can't be spared." Such word is usually accepted at face value.

Challenge: If the upper strata haven't already been siphoned off by exemptions and excusals, the trial lawyer's peremptory challenge often completes the job. While attorneys prefer highly educated jurors in cases involving complex litigation, most defense lawyers still cling to the belief that persons on the lower rungs of the socioeconomic ladder tend to sympathize more with the accused. "My idea of the ideal jury," says Melvin Belli, "is twelve Irish unionists deciding the case of my client Patrick O'Brien, a union bricklayer, who was run over by Chauncey Marlborough's Rolls-Royce while Marlborough was on his way to deposit \$50,000 in the bank."

Other defense lawyers confess to an astonishing range of prejudices. Percy Foreman is leery of Germans, Russians and others with a strong sense of law, order and "tribal tradition." Los Angeles attorney Grant Cooper says he routinely challenges engineers and accountants because "they're stubborn and opinionated."

Residue: What remains, in too many cases, is a uni-dimensional blend of retirees and blue collar types who welcome any sort of break in their routine. As San Francisco attorney Arthur Andreas sees it: "I've never felt a person is being tried by a jury of his peers when the jury is largely composed of retired seamstresses and postal clerks."

Reforming the jury selection system by severely limiting exemptions, excusals and disqualifications will only transform a duty into a punishment. A better approach might be to make jury service more attractive to those citizens who, while in theory ready, willing and even eager to serve, are frequently perplexed and disillusioned by the inefficiency of the process. The most promising innovation is the "telephone reserve panel" whereby the court calls in a bare minimum number of jurors while allowing a second, reserve group to "serve at the office" provided they remain near a telephone and can report within one hour for service.

TRIALS

Hypnotic Film

Judge Robert Gardner of Santa Ana, Calif., has the reputation of being an innovator. But even to Gardner, the request by the defense attorney was an extraordinary one. On trial was a young Filipino mother accused of murdering her six-day-old infant by feeding it some caustic substance from a baby bottle. She had already been found guilty in the killing once, but a mistrial had been declared. Between the trials, Defense Lawyer Dudley Gray had read in Time (Dec. 29) about Thomas Kidwell, an accused wife killer who was shown to a jury on video tape; under a so-called truth drug, he had relived the apparent fact that his wife had shot him first. As a result, the charge against him was reduced from first-degree murder to manslaughter. Gray now sought to introduce a movie film of his client under hypnosis. Judge Gardner was stumped.

The video tape of Kidwell had not been formally introduced as evidence, instead was shown to the jury to back up the district attorney's decision to reduce the charge. Moreover, Judge Gardner was well aware that higher courts have rarely allowed any testimony related to statements made by a person undergoing a lie-detector test or under truth drugs or hypnosis. Still, Gardner was interested.

Horrible Burns. His solution was an elaborate wriggle. "I am tied by decisions of our higher courts," he admitted. "So we have to approach it through the back door. We have to say that we are showing this to the jurors not for the truth of the matters said in this movie, but so they will understand and be able to properly evaluate the testimony of the doctor and the basis upon which he eventually came to a rather brief diagnosis: that at the time of the unfortunate incident, the defendant had a state of mind not compatible with murder."

The specifics of the case were that Mrs. Thomas became pregnant shortly after her Marine husband left for overseas duty. Her husband, nonetheless, incorrectly believed that the child was his. Two nights after she brought her new son home from the hospital, the baby was discovered with horrible burns in his mouth. His gums had been eaten away by an unknown "caustic solution," and so had his larynx and lungs. After 16 days in the hospital, he died. Who would have killed him except his mother? asked the prosecution; her motive was that she was afraid her husband would learn the truth.

Defense Psychiatrist David Johnston testified that Antonia was not capable of murdering her child, and then showed the 47 minute film of one of the hypnosis sessions that had led to his conclusion. In it, Johnston is seen putting her into a trance, then taking her back to the night of the baby's death. She had been given a sedative, she says, and as Dr. Johnston snaps his fingers she remembers being awakened. "The baby cry again," she says. "The baby needs to be feeded, and got to get the bottle. The baby was crying." Now her voice becomes a whimper. "He was crying. He was crying. I said what's wrong with you. The baby's sick. The baby's sick." She sobs hard. "Help! The baby's mouth! It's getting dark. I don't know why. I don't know why. My baby sick. My baby sick." Dr. Johnston moved to a scene 16 days later, when a policeman came to her motel room. "It was a cop at the door. He say the baby died. The baby died. I don't know what happened. The baby always clean. I always change and feed. . ."

To anyone seeing the film, her bewilderment and distress seemed achingly real, but the jurors had been carefully instructed not to consider it as direct testimony. Though they could hardly ignore it, they had also to remember that hypnosis is not an infallible prod to the truth. Mulling all of this over, the jury deliberated for two days. "It's a rare case," said Judge Gardner. Finally, late last week, the jury unanimously returned a verdict of guilty of murder in the first degree. Said Judge Gardner afterward: "My gamble paid off. The verdict has confirmed my faith in the jury system. They viewed the film, then took into account all the other evidence, and considered it only for its bearing on the psychiatrist's testimony."

- Time
April 12, 1968

UNFAIR COMMENT vs. FAIR TRIAL

After it became known that District Attorney Evelle J. Younger of Los Angeles would consent to a mistrial in a murder case, George Putnam, a Los Angeles television reporter and commentator (KTLA) addressed a series of questions to his audience: "Is it true that a deal is being discussed behind the scenes on this conviction? Is it true that a mistrial. . . is being sought? And is it true that such a declaration hinges on approval from the Los Angeles County District Attorney. . .? A mistrial? What do you think mother?"

The final question was calculated to wring the heart of every parent who heard the broadcast, because the convicted man has been found guilty of raping and strangling two young sisters, aged 6 and 7.

Younger subsequently did join in a request for a new trial. He disclosed that Thomas P. Finnerty, Jr., the deputy district attorney who prosecuted the man, had reported that the defense attorney was under the influence of liquor at the trial - an accusation the attorney denied. Finnerty himself signed an affidavit in support of a new trial. A Los Angeles newspaper was moved to comment: "In such a situation, no responsible district attorney could have acted otherwise. Yet. . . Younger. . . was maligned ignorantly and abusively."

Granting the motion, a superior court judge said: "Not only do I feel that the defendant did not receive adequate representation, he did not have adequate preparation and investigation of his case before trial." The defense had offered no evidence and - except for lynchings - the day-and-a-half proceedings may have been the shortest capital case on record.

The denouement came on April 9 when, after a second trial lasting five weeks, the man was found not guilty.

This episode is merely an incident in the career of the Los Angeles broadcaster, who specializes in inflammatory opinion. (After the capture of the Pueblo, he characteristically analyzed the situation: "Too many of our people have a yellow streak a foot wide down their backs.")

Such incidents point up the need to strengthen and extend the FCC's "fairness" doctrine - which, just now, is under renewed attack.

- The Nation
June 17, 1968

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PUNISHMENT IS A CRIME

by Dr. Karl Menninger

Few words in our language arrest our attention as do "crime," "violence," "revenge," and "injustice."

We abhor crime; we adore justice; we boast that we live by the rule of law. Violence and vengefulness we repudiate as unworthy of our civilization, and we assume this sentiment to be unanimous among all human beings.

Yet crime continues to be a national disgrace and a world-wide problem. It is threatening, alarming, wasteful, expensive, abundant, and constantly increasing. It is increasing faster than the growth of population, faster than the spread of civilization.

And yet there is great public apathy to proposals for more intelligent control of crime and rehabilitation of criminals. Why? Because we have a persistent, intrusive wish for vengeance.

We are ashamed of it; we deny to ourselves and to others that we are influenced by it. Our morals, our religious teachings, even our laws repudiate it. But behind what we do to the offender is the desire for revenge on someone - and the unknown villain who has been proved guilty of wrongdoing is a good scapegoat. We call it a wish to see justice done - i.e., to have him "punished." But in the last analysis this turns out to be a thin cloak for vengeful feelings directed against a legitimized object.

It is natural to resent a hurt, and all of us have many unfulfilled wishes to hurt back. But in our civilization that is not done - openly. Personal revenge we have renounced, but official legalized revenge we can still enjoy. Once someone has been labeled an offender and proved guilty of an offense, he is fair game, and our feelings come out in the form of a conviction that a hurt to society should be "repaid."

In the old days no one apologized for feelings of vengeance. Poets, playwrights and other artists have been preoccupied with it for centuries. One goes to the opera and listens to beautiful music that was inspired by such sordid vengeance-dominated plots as Tosca, Il Trovatore, or La Forza del Destino. Or one thinks of the fascination that The Count of Monte Cristo, Hamlet, Othello and many other revenge stories have had for millions of people for centuries.

"Vengeance is mine," God is quoted as declaring. But vengeance by the individual worked its way back in somehow. Various scriptural citations imply that God expects some human assistance in dealing out vengeance. His spokesmen and His agents have always laid about them with zealous vigor and great self-assurance to do what the Lord wanted done. "Thou shalt not suffer a sorceress to live" (Ex. 22:18). "Ye shall tread down the wicked; for they shall be ashes under the soles of your feet" (Mal. 4:3). "Happy shall he be, that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the rock" (Psalm 137:9).

The initiation of official retaliation for crime is sometimes inaccurately ascribed to the Anglo-Saxons, to Calvin, to the Romans and to the children of Israel. But in fact, clear demands for legal tit-for-tat appear in much more ancient documents. Typical citations from the Babylonian code of Hammurabi, 4,000 years ago, are these:

- 195. If a son strike his father, they shall cut off his fingers.
- 196. If a man destroy the eye of another man, they shall destroy his eye.
- 200. If a man knock out a tooth of a man of his own rank, they shall knock out his tooth.

The Hammurabi Code (1750 B.C.) was harsh, but it was meant to limit revenge. No more than this penalty may ye take! - that was the essence of it. Hammurabi apparently instituted the law to control practices of family and tribal revenge.

This was nearly 38 centuries ago. Jesus of Nazareth came about midway between then and now and recommended that we turn the other cheek. The early Christians did so and were martyred; and the German Jews did so and were cremated. Isn't it natural to defend oneself and one's home and one's honor?

"I think," said the distinguished jurist, Sir James Stephen, as late as 1883, "it is highly desirable that criminals should be hated, that the punishments inflicted upon them should be so contrived as to give expression to that hatred, and to justify it so far as the public provision of means for expressing and gratifying a healthy natural sentiment can justify and encourage it.

No less an authority than Chief Justice William Howard Taft wrote in 1928 that the "chief purpose of the prosecution of crime is to punish the criminal and to deter others from doing it because of the penal consequences . . . It is a mistake of huge proportion to lead criminals by pampering them, and by relaxing discipline of them and the harshness of prison life, to think that they are wards of the state for their comfort, entertainment and support.

And here, to top the list, is what Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, committed to teaching the gentleness of Jesus and the forgiveness of Christian love, recently published in a syndicated column: . . . Today, thanks to a few social workers, a few incompetent judges, and woolly-minded thinkers, and many "sob sisters," compassion is extended not to the one who was mugged, but to the mugger, not to the policeman, but to the dope pusher, not to the girl killed by a dope fiend, but to the rich boy from an interesting family. (Could this be an appeal to class distinction?) No blame may be laid at the door of the criminal or the degraded. The new saviors of a perverted society say: "Neither do I condemn thee. Go, and sin some more."

What is behind such vindictiveness? Certainly not Christianity, not Judaism, nor indeed any religion! And yet certainly not specific hatred! And surely not an expectation of eliminating crime!

Professor Henry Weihofen, in his book *The Urge to Punish*, shows that the wish for vengeance is often a way of relieving our own guilt: No one is more ferocious in demanding that the murderer or the rapist "pay" for his crime than the man who has felt strong impulses in the same direction. No one is more bitter in condemning the "loose" woman than the "good" women who have on occasion guiltily enjoyed some purple dreams themselves. It is never he who is without sin who casts the first stone.

Along with the stone, we cast our own sins onto the criminal. In this way we relieve our own sense of guilt without actually having to suffer the punishment - a convenient and even pleasant device, for it not only relieves us of sin but makes us feel actually virtuous. A criminal trial, like a prizefight, is a public performance in which the spectators work off in a socially acceptable way aggressive impulses of much the same kind that the man on trial worked off in a socially unacceptable way.

The man on the street knows so little about the total situation that it is not surprising that he explodes in rage at the news of some horrendous crime. He is merely saying loudly that he is against evil. He wants to believe that "things are being taken care of," that the brave, tough "cops" the "good guys," are dealing with the tough "bad guys," and so all is well - or as well as things can be in our rough-and-tumble world. So he is not too much

disturbed to hear it alleged that (some) police have usurped the power to punish, and believe that the use of "legitimate violence" is their occupational prerogative and monopoly. If the police thereby obtain "results," the community is satisfied. Most policemen would deny any feelings of vengeance toward offenders - just necessary and legitimate counter-violence.

We cannot expect the public to be objective, either in judging the criminal or in judging us psychiatrists. Especially we cannot expect them to understand our repudiation of punishment as a form of "treatment."

I am often asked if I oppose all punishment for everyone. Think of some of the fiendish crimes that we often hear about. Do I think such people should go unpunished?

Certainly the abolition of punishment does not mean the abolition of penalties; quite the contrary. Penalties should be greater and surer and quicker in coming. I favor stricter penalties for many offenses, swifter and more certain assessment of them.

But penalties are not punishments - pain inflicted over the years for the sake of inflicting pain. If I drive through a red light, I will be and should be penalized. If a bridge player overbids, he is promptly and surely penalized, and his opponents can even double the penalty. If he cheats, he may be excluded from the game, but no one beats him up or imprisons him.

If a man strikes a rock in anger, his suffering from a bleeding hand is a penalty, not a punishment. If we disregard traffic signals, we are penalized, not punished. If our offense was a calculated "necessity" in an emergency, then the fine is the "price" of the decision.

All legal sanctions involve penalties for infractions. But the element of punishment is an indefensible additional penalty; it corrupts the legal principle of quid pro quo with a "moral" surcharge. Punishment is the infliction of pain in addition to or in lieu of penalty. It is the prolonged and excessive infliction of penalty, or penalty out of all proportion to the offense. Detention in prison was supposed to be a modification of the infliction of pain, but it is often more cruel and destructive than beating. What is gained for anybody when a man who has forged a check for \$60 is sentenced to the penitentiary for 30 years (at public expense, of course)? I saw such a case in 1967. The judge's rationalization was that the man had offended in this way twice before and had served shorter sentences without reforming.

This is not penalization. This is not correction. This is not public protection. (Is any check forger so dangerous as to require such expensive precautions?) This is not reformation. It is sadistic persecution of the helpless at public expense, justified by the "punishment" principle of "treatment."

If a burglar takes my property, I would like to have him return it or pay for it, and the state ought to be reimbursed for its costs too. The burglar could be forcibly required to make such payments. This would be just, and it would not be "punitive." Just what the penalties should be in the case of many offenses is a big question, I realize, but it would be simpler if all the public lust for seeing people punished could be ignored.

I do not think this means that we psychiatrists are too sentimental. Being against punishment is not a sentimental conviction. It is a logical conclusion drawn from scientific experience. It is also a professional principle; we doctors try to relieve pain, not cause it. It is the unthinking public that is sentimental - sentimental in the sense of reacting emotionally to the first impact of unpleasant, grievous "news," i.e., a few of the bare facts of a case. A wave of emotion sweeps over them; they are shocked, horrified, alarmed.

Instinctively they want quick action to eliminate the danger. Let some time elapse and a few more of the facts become known, and their first instinct about dispatching the offender becomes altered. It may even swing to the opposite pole so that the public is moved to pity or even shame by the revealed circumstances. Then it wants instant restitution and release.

It is worth noting that psychiatrists are not immune to the emotions that sweep through the public. I, myself, find it difficult to restrain my own feelings of vengeance toward the parents of those who have come to be called "battered children." Unquestionably many parents are fiendishly, but secretly, cruel in their treatment of children - breaking their bones, lacerating their flesh and often killing them. Some of these parents are brought for psychiatric examination, and it is hard to be objective in performing one's professional duty.

I must confess too that sometimes after reading about some particularly shocking crime, I let myself wonder, like everyone else, if it would not be simpler and cheaper and more "satisfactory" all around, if such an individual could just be quietly exterminated. He has done irreparable and horrible damage; he can never recover; he can never be any good to the world; he will always remind us of terrible sorrow; his continued existence is a burden to us. But then I reflect that I myself am becoming unobjectively and inconsistently sentimental. The principle of no punishment cannot allow of any exception; it must apply in every case, even the worst case, the most horrible case, the most dreadful case - not merely in the accidental, sympathy-arousing case.

The public clings tenaciously to its fascination for violence and its yen for vengeance, blind or deaf to the facts which are (occasionally) laid before it. But this apparent unconcern will yield in time to the persistent, penetrating light of intelligence and scientific knowledge. The public will grow increasingly ashamed of its cry for retaliation and punishment. The persistent demand to "Make him pay his debt to society! Crucify him! Crucify him!" represents our crime - our crime against criminals, and our crime against ourselves. Before we can reduce our self-inflicted sufferings from ill-controlled aggressive assaults, we must renounce the ancient, obsolete penal attitude in favor of a modern, therapeutic one.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

A study just completed for the California legislature confirms again what criminologists have strongly suspected at least since Cesare Beccaria's Essay on Crime and Punishments in 1764: Severe penalties are not an effective deterrent to crime.

The California legislature study (Crime and Penalties in California) has examined, among other things, the effects of increased penalties in the state for attacks on policemen and for marijuana violations.

Prior to 1961 any assault with a deadly weapon was punishable by a fine of \$5,000 and/or up to a year in jail or up to 10 years in a state prison. In that year the legislature enacted the first special penalties for attacks on police, which were further increased in 1963 and 1965. Conviction now carries a mandatory state prison sentence of five years to life. But since 1961 the rate of attacks on police in Los Angeles County (where half the state's felony arrests take place) went up from 8.4 per 100 cops per year to 15.8 - an increase of 90 percent. "After five years of increasing penalties," the report concludes, "a Los Angeles policeman was almost twice as likely to be attacked.. ."

Also in 1961 the legislature increased the penalties for possession of marijuana from a maximum one year in jail (and this was at the judge's option) to a mandatory one-to-10 years in state prison. Penalties for sale were also boosted. The number of arrests for marijuana offenses rose from 3,500 in 1961 to more than 18,000 in 1966. They probably would have risen anyway; the point is, the tougher penalty did not deter. California courts have become increasingly reluctant to convict. Some 47 percent of adults arrested on marijuana charges in 1961 were convicted and 26 percent were sent to prison. In 1966, only 31 percent of those arrested were subsequently convicted, and only 13 percent were jailed.

CRIMINALS SHOULD BE CURED, NOT CAGED

What are prisons for? To reform criminals, replied 77% of Americans in a recent Harris Poll. But 80% of the nation's "correctional" employees merely guard 426,000 inmates in a hodgepodge of archaic institutions that range from adequate to appalling. Only 20% of the country's correctors work at rehabilitation. And 30% of all released offenders (75% in some areas) are reimprisoned within five years, often for worse crimes.

What eludes U.S. penology (from the Latin poena, meaning pain) is the basic recipe of effective punishment: speedy, inescapable prosecution, a fair chance for a fresh start, and state-upheld values that offenders can reasonably acknowledge as superior to their own. For one thing, 77% of reported U.S. crimes are never solved; many are never even reported. Thus, most caught criminals see their problem as bad luck rather than bad character. Indeed, such are the human mind's defenses that the guilty often feel innocent. Dostoevsky astutely depicts a would-be murderer viewing his act as "not a crime."

All the more resistant is the typical U.S. offender: a failed male youth who wears the outcast labels of slum dweller, minority-group member, school dropout, unsuccessful employee and law violator. Stripped of self-esteem, this loser compensates by hating and hurting life's winners. And the U.S. criminal-justice system all too often reinforces his contempt for society's values. If the suspect cannot afford a skilled lawyer, he is pressured to plead guilty without a trial. For the same crime, different judges hand out wildly disparate sentences.

Perhaps the most appalling aspect of all this is the fact that the number of crimes is increasing because the number of young people is growing, and they commit most crimes. Viewing this situation objectively leads to two basic conclusions. First, the U.S. is now spending \$1 billion a year for corrections in ways that can only increase crime. Second, a dramatically different approach can decrease it - for the same money.

Barriers to Reform. The notion that imprisonment corrects criminals is a surprisingly recent idea. Before the 18th century, prisons were mainly used not to punish but to detain the accused or hostages - the debtor until he paid, for example. To combat crime, Europeans castrated rapists, cut off thieves' hands, tore out perjurers' tongues. England boasted 200 hanging offenses. When crime still flourished, reformers argued that overkill punishment is no deterrent. In 1786, the Philadelphia Quakers established incarceration as a humane alternative. Seeking penitence (source of "penitentiary"), the Quakers locked convicts in solitary cells until death or release. So many died or went insane that in 1825 New York's Auburn Prison introduced hard labor - in utter silence. Until quite recently the U.S. relied almost entirely on the spirit-breaking Auburn system of shaved heads, lock-step marching and degrading toil in huge, costly, isolated cages that soothed the public's fear of escapes.

The caging syndrome has crippled U.S. penology in every way. Because forbidding forts refuse to crumble (25 prisons are more than 100 years old), there is often no way to separate tractable from intractable men - the preliminary step toward rehabilitation. Of course barriers to reform go far beyond the limitations of buildings. It is ironic that only in Mississippi are married convicts allowed conjugal visits with their wives; sexual deprivation in other American prisons incites riots, mental illness and homosexuality. By using strong inmates to control the weak, authoritarian officials create an inmate culture that forces prisoners to "do your own time" - trust no one, freeze your mind, be indifferent. Roughly 80% of adult inmates need psychiatric help. But ill-trained, ill-paid guards are so concerned with security that treatment staffs can barely function. All American prisons have only 150 full-time psychiatrists, half of them in federal institutions, which hold only 5% of all prisoners.

Even humane prison officials are still generally paying mere lip service to "individualized treatment" - the new ideal of curing each prisoner's hang-ups and converting society's misfits to crime-free lives. In progressive prisons, to be sure, guards are taught to break up the inmate culture by friendly communication; inmates are classified in graded groups, promoted for good conduct and hustled toward parole. Indeed, the average stay today is 21 months; the average lifer exits in 20 years.

Yet all this usually amounts to what Penologist Howard Gill calls "bird-shot penology." All the bands, baseball, radios and rodeos cannot gloss the fact that real rehabilitation is rare. Caging still outranks curing; short funds dilute short-stay effectiveness. And prison job-training is a scandal. Federal prisons do well; yet only 17% of released federal inmates find jobs related to their prison work. Most state prisoners get no usable training because business and unions have rammed through laws preventing competition by prison industries. At least one-third of all inmates simply keep the prison clean - or do nothing.

Building Community Bases. To attack the basic prison problem - isolation from society - the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice advocates a drastic shift to "community-based corrections." Two-thirds of all offenders are already being supervised outside the walls, on probation or parole. But probation is still widely regarded as clemency rather than treatment; only one-third of American courts have reasonably adequate probation staffs. Burdened with over 100 cases apiece, plus pre-sentence reports for judges, many probation officers can give offenders only ten or 15 minutes, once or twice a month. To cut average caseloads to 35 per officer, the commission urges a quick and major staff increase - sevenfold in misdemeanor cases, which now too often turn jail graduates into prison felons.

There is no question that probation can be more effective than prison. In one experiment by the California Youth Authority, convicted juvenile delinquents were immediately returned to their homes or foster homes, where parole officers grouped them according to their special characteristics and then provided intensive treatment - tutoring, psychotherapy, occasional confinement. After five years, only 28% of the experimental group had their paroles revoked, compared with 52% of a similar group that was locked up after conviction. By giving 600 more delinquents such treatment, California avoided paying \$7,000,000 for a new reformatory. Supervising adult felons on probation costs \$200 a year, v. \$2,000 for imprisonment, and about \$13,000 per inmate to build new prisons. By tripling its probation staff in 1963, New Mexico cut its prison population 32%, now saves \$4,000,000 a year in prison costs and welfare payments to prisoners' families. The whole prison ethos can be changed. Just as astronauts train by simulating space conditions, so prisons should be located right in the inmates' community, where a vastly augmented treatment staff could use local resources to help the offender identify with antirriminal people and succeed at legitimate work.

To reduce regimentation, says Criminologist Daniel Glaser, no prison should house more than 100 inmates, v. 4,000 in many of today's bastilles: small groups of tractable prisoners could live in Y.M.C.A.-type hotels or apartments. And prisons should exploit the ironic fact that mere aging is now the main cause of going straight. Since youths are the most defiant prisoners, they should be scattered among older, wiser men, not segregated as now. In a community setting, prisons can expand work-and-study furloughs, arrange part-time release programs with industry, universities and therapy groups such as Alcoholics Anonymous. At the federal penitentiary in Danbury, Conn., for example, Dictograph Products Inc. sponsors a training program for microsoldering hearing aids, hires the trained convicts after their release. Geared to problem solving, such treatment reconciles offenders with relatives, schools, employers. It is urgently needed in local jails, which should be integrated into state correctional systems. Under this concept, prisons would resemble hospitals: "punishment" would produce functioning human beings - the way to crime prevention.

Searching for Reinforcement. Crucial to such reform is a more rational definition of criminal behavior. For example, half of all county-jail inmates are in for drunkenness - something far better treated at public-health detoxification centers. In mass arrests of small drug pushers, police mainly cut supplies and raise prices, which addicts then meet by more thefts and burglaries. In New York City, the daily toll is almost \$1,000,000 and addicts account for half the city's convicts. Not only are big suppliers untouched; a national trend to mandatory sentences and no parole or probation in drug cases is defeating curative efforts.

In general, sentences should be far more flexible. An American Bar Association committee recently urged maximum five-year terms, except for dangerous offenders.* But even with good pre-sentence reports, trial judges cannot predict whether x years will suffice. Some countries require written sentence opinions for higher-court review. American law should probably hand the job to penal experts. Federal judges already may send convicted persons to classification centers before sentencing: New York's bail-pioneering Vera Institute of Justice is retraining such people for three months before the judge decides. In California, which leads the U.S. and most of the world in systematic penology, judges give indeterminate sentences, and correction officials then determine the offender's fate according to his well-tested possibilities. In 1966, only 7% of California felons went to prison. Of all state inmates, 20% actually work outside in 80-man forestry crews, saving California millions.

Thus far, most American prison reform has focused on the traumas of release. The pacesetting federal system, which includes a no-wall unit at Seagoville, Texas, has institutionalized the "halfway houses" pioneered by religious groups to shelter ex-convicts seeking jobs. Intensive pre-release training at federal centers has cut some graduates' repeater rate by 15%. Texas boasts a remarkable six-week course at a relaxed center near Houston, where civilian volunteers (bankers, auto salesmen, personnel experts) teach felons how to get loans, buy cars, apply for jobs - things many never knew. Result: a repeater rate of 13.9% down from 35% five years ago.

All this suggests that prisons are slowly absorbing a key lesson of modern psychology: desirable behavior is best induced by "positive reinforcement" - rewards rather than punishment. Thus, federal prisons and 24 states now use work-release schemes pioneered by North Carolina, where 12,000 select convicts have earned \$10 million in ten years - even working as court reporters, while partly supporting their families, partly paying their prison keep and landing future jobs. At California's San Joaquin County Jail, one recent prisoner was an ex-airplane dealer who spent all day flying charter planes, duly landed for the night lockup. The big problem, though, is how to "reward" far less promising inmates. At the new juvenile federal unit in Morgantown, W. Va., one well-researched solution is to let delinquent boys loaf completely - or choose to work and study for "points" that pay off at a penny apiece. Earnings can hit \$40 a week, cutting confinement time in the process.

Some critics argue that many of the new ideas still fail to solve the criminal's basic problem: his firm belief that society is wrong, not he. As critics see it, even the best prison is still a totalitarian society that spurs human resistance and reinforces the criminal's cynicism. In this view, the solution is getting criminals to reform themselves in the process of reforming other criminals. This approach has worked wonders in New Jersey with groups of 20 delinquent boys housed at Highfields, the old Lindbergh mansion. After working at daytime jobs, the boys spend evenings listening to a selected boy's woes - and then by deflating his rationalizations. Nonviolence is enforced by an adult sitting quietly outside the circle; but things get rough, for no boy leaves Highfields until he has proved to

*A seeming example: Winston Moseley, 33, convicted for the 1964 murder of Kitty Genovese, whose screams were disregarded by 38 neighbors in New York City. Now a lifer at maximum-security Attica Prison (the wall alone cost \$1,275,000 in 1931), Moseley was recently hospitalized in Buffalo for a self-inflicted wound. Last week he escaped from the hospital, raped a housewife, terrorized the area until an FBI agent talked him into surrender. He obviously needs confinement.

both his peers' and the adult's satisfaction that he has mastered his hang-ups enough to attain a very practical goal - avoiding future arrest.

In 1964, North Carolina courageously put young felons into an open prison camp staffed entirely by group-therapy veterans - recently paroled California convicts. It worked, until the legislature nervously stopped the money. (The head parolee later became a professional penologist.) Several states profitably rely on Author Bill Sands (My Shadow Ran Fast), a reformed California armed robber, whose Seven Step Foundation sends ex-convicts into prisons to counsel inmates and runs "freedom houses" to help releasees. Of 5,000 Seventh Step graduates so far, only 10% have returned to prison. An ex-New York prisoner named Hiawatha Burris has carved a new career persuading reluctant employers to hire ex-cons. With federal funds, Burris started Washington's Bonabond, a convict-run agency that has bonded and guided 441 men in new jobs. Bonabond has never had to pay off. Only 7% of its charges have been rearrested, none for crimes against their employers. Some employers now skip the bond and just take Bonabond's word.

"We might feel that in prison we've paid our debt," says Burris, "but we know the community doesn't think so. Doing time is not enough - we have to give back to the community." And that may be the most profound point. The goal of crime prevention can be reached partly by attacks on crime-breeding social conditions, partly by creating more efficient police and courts. But also vital is a new concept of mutual reconciliation between convict and community: the outcast must be allowed to earn his way back and thereby learn to believe in himself.

Toward Self-Respect. Can prisons be abolished? Not quite: perhaps 15% of inmates are dangerous or unreformable. But Attorney General Ramsey Clark, for one, estimates that 50% of today's inmates do not belong in prison; removing them would sharply improve attention to the rest. And caging must go. It is scandalous that in the U.S. only about 2% of all prison inmates are now being exposed to any kind of reform-oriented innovation.

What most convicts really need is neither repression nor sentimental treatment as patients, but rather opportunity for restitution. Never was American prison morale so high as during World War II when the nation relied on convicts to work their heads off producing almost \$300 million in war goods and food. Never was morale so low - and riots so rife - as when idleness returned after the war. On many occasions, prisoners have fought fire and flood with a zest and courage that amazed and won the communities they saved. As guinea pigs in countless medical experiments, they have voluntarily suffered malaria, cancer, syphilis and other ugly ills for the public benefit - and their own.

The key is self-respect: prisons are full of men who perhaps above all need a chance to serve society in order to respect themselves. When the law-abiding public accepts that fact, U.S. penology will be on the road to genuine rehabilitation.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

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THE GROWING TOLL OF AMERICA'S "BROKEN HOMES"

Across the nation, rates of divorce, desertion and illegitimacy are rising. Also increasing is an army of fatherless children - many of whom are heading for trouble in years to come.

Nationwide concern is developing over the "broken home" and the role it plays in growing violence in the United States.

Homes disrupted by death, separation, divorce or desertion turn up in the early background of the men charged with killing President John F. Kennedy, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

In city after city, juvenile authorities are finding much of their work has to do with fatherless youngsters running loose on the streets.

It is observed by family-counseling experts that most children in fatherless homes grow up to become stable and law-abiding citizens.

Even so, worry rises over the impact of the broken home as it becomes an established and accepted fact of life in modern-day America - far more than would have been thought possible a half century ago when divorce was still frowned upon by most people.

More breakups. The divorce rate per 1,000 married women aged 15 years or older has been steadily climbing, with only two interruptions since 1958, when the rate reached a post-World War II low of 8.9 per 1,000.

Latest official rate, for 1965, was 10.6 per 1,000, and some authorities believe it may have gone up to 11 or more since then. The 1965 figure was then the highest rate for U.S. divorces since 1949. In total numbers, too, the trend is upward.

Last year, 534,000 U.S. marriages were dissolved in the courts, more than in any other year in the nation's history except 1946, when an unusually high number of dissolutions was recorded from a backlog of cases that had accumulated during World War II.

Officials of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare say there is some evidence that remarriages are increasing, too - but not at the same pace as divorces in this country.

In that situation, the nation's army of divorced women continues to expand, coming to 2.2 million in 1966.

By that time, too, 2.9 million U.S. women were living apart from their husbands without divorce. Among whites, such women were about equal in number to those who had been divorced. Among nonwhites, separated or deserted women outnumbered divorcees 3 to 1.

Children without fathers. What alarms welfare and law-enforcement officials are these facts:

About 3 out of 5 homes headed by women include children. Among non-whites, the ratio is almost 4 out of 5.

Today 10 per cent of all households with children are headed by women, and among nonwhites the proportion rises to about 25 per cent. More than 7 million children under 18, or about 1 in 10, are being raised in fatherless homes. This total grows, year by year - with divorce cases alone involving more than 600,000 youngsters each year.

Illegitimate births, which passed the 300,000 figure in 1966, also are part of the nation's broken-home problem. Many babies born out of wedlock, especially among Negroes, are brought up without a father in the home.

Recently Dr. Murray Grant, public-health director for Washington, D.C., told Congressmen that 30.3 per cent of all births in the nation's capital were illegitimate - and for mothers under the age of 20, the figure was 60 per cent of all births. Nationwide, he said, 8.4 per cent of all births were illegitimate, and among nonwhites the proportion rose to 27.6 per cent.

Poverty compounds the situation.

Government records reveal that 3 out of 5 children being brought up in homes where the father is absent - for one reason or another - are in "poor" families. Among non-whites, the ratio is 4 out of 5.

In addition to the 5.2 million American families headed by women, there are about 270,000 families headed by men with no wives present. Such families account for about 600,000 children.

This group, however, is seen as constituting far less of a problem - and not just in numbers.

Fathers, it is pointed out, can get better-paying jobs with which to support their children and often can call on a female relative to act as a substitute mother for the family. Furthermore, remarriage rates for divorced fathers probably are higher than for women, welfare officials say - although full statistics on this are lacking.

Problem for mothers. Among women trying to rear children alone, the job is different - and far bigger.

Sociologists and psychiatrists are quick to say that many women are rearing children successfully, despite absence of fathers. In many cases, it is said, the mental health of children has actually benefited when divorce ended their exposure to quarreling and tension between parents.

On the other hand, it is conceded that the everyday difficulties of raising children are magnified when mothers tackle the job alone. Factors such as these are enumerated:

Working mothers find it hard to provide their children with adequate supervision during the day - and fatigue, coupled with anxiety, breed discord.

Boys can suffer much emotional damage if there is no "male model" on which to pattern themselves.

Often divorced mothers tend to smother their children, particularly boys, with affection as an emotional substitute for the missing husband - a frequent cause of later disturbance in the child.

Measuring the effect. Not long ago Dr. John F. McDermott, Jr., associate professor of psychiatry at the University of Michigan medical school, told of a study of 16 boys and girls whose ages ranged from 3 to 6 at a time when their parents were separating and divorcing. Thirteen out of the 16 showed behavior changes that ranged from boredom to aggressiveness.

When the initial impact of parental separation is followed by tension and lack of supervision in the fatherless home, psychiatrists say, the child can suffer emotional ills or get into trouble with the law.

In 1950, Drs. Eleanor and Sheldon Glueck, in their noted study of 500 matched pairs of delinquents and normal children, found that 60.4 per cent of the troublemakers came from broken homes, while the same was true of only 34.2 per cent of the nondelinquents. Reported the Gluecks in their book, "Delinquents in the Making":

"More of the homes of the delinquents than of the nondelinquents were broken by desertion, separation, divorce or death of one or both parents, a large number of such breaches occurring during the early childhood of the boys; many more delinquents than nondelinquents had step or foster parents; and more of them were shunted about from one household to another during their most formative years."

While many divorced or separated mothers manage to keep their youngsters in line, the broken home turns up with great frequency in the case reports on juveniles.

One study recently in Denver showed that only 25 per cent of Negro youths classed as delinquents lived with both parents. A two-parent home was the experience of only 39 per cent of Spanish-speaking delinquents and 41 per cent of "Anglo" or white delinquents.

"Symptom of our times." Said Juvenile Court Judge Red Rubin: "This is a symptom of our times. The rapid flow of American society brings a high divorce rate, so that young couples live several lifetimes in a few years."

The high cost of the broken home is being reflected, too, in the welfare payments to families with dependent children. This program now costs the nation between 2.5 and 3 billion dollars a year in aid going to families with 5.5 million members, of whom 4.1 million are children.

If past experience is a guide, the nation may be paying further costs in the years ahead in emotional and mental illness - an element coming to the surface in the form of violence and lawlessness.

DELINQUENTS

Huck Finn, J.D.

The roofed-over raft spent a leisurely month making its way down the Mississippi from Minneapolis to St. Louis, manned by 14 teen-age boys and three congenial supervisors. It hardly seemed probable that on such an idyllic summer expedition, the boys were there only because a court said they had to be. But that was indeed the case. All 14 were juvenile delinquents - two and three time offenders from chronic truants to an armed robber.

Normally such case-hardened kids would probably be slapped in a juvenile reform school. Instead, these were committed by Minneapolis judges to an imaginative program conceived ten years ago by Paul Keve, then director of court services for the Minneapolis area, now Minnesota's commissioner of corrections. Keve's basic concept was that a person cannot be taught to live in society if he is removed from normal social situations. So Keve devised a program for a small group of young offenders who stay at home and in school on weekdays, and on Friday afternoons are delivered by bus to a near-by country cabin, where they must spend the weekend together. There they play ball and hike under careful supervision by a staff more interested in rehabilitation than in punishment. Every night there are group discussions of problems at school or at home. Each year the high point of the program is the raft trip.

Huffin' Butts. Last week the eighth trip landed in St. Louis. Some of the kids conceded that it was a success - although one insisted that he would rather have stayed home "huffin butts and goin' to parties." But they had learned the advantages of cooperation and shared work. Each night the boys helped to dig the latrine or cook the chow; everyone put up tents. The kids did most of the planning too - wrote for permission to use recreational facilities, estimated provisions, got clothes ready. On the trip, there were warm receptions in river towns by the mayor or a police escort - a welcome change from being roused by police back home.

Most common complaint of the travelers is that the trips are too long. But Probation Officer David Cook, director of the program, points out that it is only during the final week or two that real unity develops. "The raft is perfect for group therapy," he says. "You can control almost all the pressures on the boys." After the only incident of trouble on the latest journey - some swearing in a Y.M.C.A. - the guilty boy was made to feel so unhappy about letting his buddies down that he punished himself by standing alone for an hour in the corner of the raft.

Longer-term results are more difficult to gauge. After release, program members commit far fewer offenses than others. But Cook admits that "sometimes we can only cut down the type or frequency of crime." In any case, he has high hopes for the current group, will recommend that half be taken out of the program immediately and given full freedom.

Time
July 26, 1968

TREND OF THE U.S. CRIME WAVE - SHARP RISE AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE

Washington - This picture of rising lawlessness in the U.S. is shown in the FBI's report on crime in 1967. Serious crimes, over all, were up 16 per cent from 1966. Crimes of violence - murder, robbery, assault, rape - also rose by 16 per cent. Crimes committed by youths of both sexes were climbing at a higher rate than crimes committed by older persons. And the crime rate among teen-age girls was rising faster than that among boys. More and more offenders, shown leniency after a first crime, were caught again - and again. And a smaller percentage of crimes was being solved by police.

As violence rises - Those were highlights from a massive report summarizing police statistics from across the nation. It showed there were more than 3.8 million serious crimes committed in the U.S. in 1967. The number of violent crimes exceeded 494,500. Crimes against property totaled more than 3.3 million, a 17 per cent rise.

Robbery increased 28 per cent, murder 11 per cent, aggravated assault 9 per cent, forcible rape 7 per cent.

Law-enforcement agencies solved slightly more than 1 in each 5 serious crimes. But police solutions decreased 8 per cent from 1966. One factor cited for the decline: "court decisions which have resulted in restrictions on police investigative and enforcement practices."

Serious crimes in 1967 were committed at the rate of 1,922 per 100,000 population, an increase of 15 per cent over 1966. Also up 15 per cent was the rate of 250 victims of crimes of violence in each 100,000 population.

Eight-year record. Looking back to 1960, the report found that the volume of crime has risen 89 per cent while the U.S. population has gone up only 10 per cent. "Thus," the FBI noted, "crime continues to outstrip population growth almost 9 to 1."

Over the same period, arrests of youths under 18 were up 59.2 per cent, compared with 44.9 per cent for all ages. But in that youth category, boys showed a climb of 52.5 per cent, girls 129.5 per cent.

Narcotics violations - in which youth figure heavily - were up 60 per cent in 1967 over 1966.

Rate for Repeaters. In a special study of 17,876 offenders released in 1963, the FBI found that 60 per cent had been rearrested on new charges by the end of 1967. Repeaters included 91 per cent of those who were acquitted or had charges of serious crimes against them dismissed.

Of those released from prison on parole, 59 per cent became repeaters. Out of 174 persons who were given rehabilitative treatment in "halfway houses," 68 per cent were arrested anew within four years.

And for youths the figures were even higher. Of those under 20 who were released on parole, 71 per cent committed further crimes.

Again in 1968? There was no indication that the FBI's figures, high as they are, would level off in 1968.

Already published are the agency's statistics for the first quarter of this year showing an almost predictable rise in crime over the first quarter of last year - by 17 per cent.

U.S. News and World Report: September 9, 1968

TOUGH TEENAGER

How do you reach a girl like Vicky? I might never have found out if help hadn't come from an unexpected source.

Vicky came into my life by way of the juvenile courts of Los Angeles. Late one night there'd been a long-distance call from a probation officer. They had a fifteen-year-old girl in custody, he said. Name of Victoria Eaton (the name meant nothing to me) ... mother dead, father unknown ... a school dropout, a teeny-bopper. They'd picked her up on Sunset Strip three days before. Malicious mischief, suspicion of marijuana - the works. Now they were trying to figure out what to do with her. Unless they could find someone to take custody she's have to be sent to a home for delinquent girls.

"We thank that would be a shame," the voice on the phone had continued. "Vicky's a tough one, all right, but not half as tough as she likes to act. And she's bright - unusually bright. Out here, we think she could be salvaged, if only someone would take on the job."

And that was why he was calling me: Victoria's mother had been a woman named Clara Mae Saunders (that name was familiar; she was a black-sheep distant cousin I'd known as a child). The court had had contact with her the first time Vicky had been hauled in - more than a year earlier - and Clara Mae Saunders had given my name as her only living relative. Shortly thereafter, Clara had died in an alcoholic ward. Now Vicky was in trouble again. Would I take her? the officer wanted to know.

I guess the decision wasn't as hard for me as it would have been for most women. I've always been something of a missionary - a do-gooder, you might say - and I've always risen to challenges. Furthermore, my husband, who teaches in a small college outside Chicago, is dedicated to young people. Our house isn't big, but it's big enough for one more. And our high school son is a wonderfully steady boy - no need to worry about Vicky's influence on him.

And so an hour after that first phone call, we'd made up our minds. Three days later I was standing at O'Hare Airport, waiting for Vicky, trying to prepare myself for what was ahead.

But nothing in my wildest dreams could have prepared me for what actually came swaggering off the plane. Vicky was a big girl - tall, well-developed. She was wearing a baggy sweater, hip-hugger pants, sandals. Her complexion was bad; her features heavy. Her heavily made-up eyes were shaded by a fringe of dime-store lashes. But her worst feature was a ropy tangle of shoulder-length, bright yellow hair - dark at the roots. The total effect was appalling.

Not knowing what else to do, I assumed my best woman's-club manner. "Victoria," I said, smiling. "I'm your cousin Louise. Did you have a good trip?"

"Yeah. It was okay," she said, her eyes following a good-looking man who had left the plane just behind her.

I tried again. "Your mother was my cousin, you know. We were friends as children. I was sorry to hear of her death."

"Yeah? Well, she wasn't much use."

That stopped me. But since I couldn't just stand there, I took a deep breath and tried again. "We live in a nice little town just outside Chicago. I think you're going to like it, Victoria, when you get used to it."

"I think not," she said coldly. "I've heard about Chicago. Helluva drag. And by the way, my name is not Vic-tor-i-uh," she mocked my voice. "It's Vicky. Try to remember that, willya?"

And so we were off - on the wrong foot - the way we were to continue for weeks. From the outset, Vicky made it clear that even though we may have been prepared for her, she wanted no part of us, or the way we lived, or the life we were offering her. When we got back from the airport I took her up to show her the organdy-curtained room I'd fixed up for her. "Jeez," she sneered. "Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm." Similarly, my husband's efforts to be friendly produced either suspicious wisecracks or sullen silence. As for Tom (who was exactly her age) - it took Vicky all of sixty seconds to decide he just wasn't her type. The feeling, incidentally, turned out to be entirely mutual.

The day after she arrived I took her out shopping for clothes, but after two hours of biting my tongue while she snarled at me, I decided it was hopeless - two such different tastes as ours couldn't be reconciled. Leaving her with some money, I went on home alone.

Our trouble, however, wasn't only a matter of clashing tastes and temperament and standards; it was also that Vicky had nothing to do. It was June. School was out. Almost all the youngsters in town had scattered to jobs or trips or camping or summer school. Day after day Vicky would sit in her room, the record player wailing and thumping, creating her own private atmosphere of spilled makeup, nail polish, movie and confession magazines, soft drink bottles, apple cores, candy wrappers and piles of clothing.

Try as I would, I couldn't seem to come up with any practical solution to Vicky's long, empty days. My suggestions - such as they were - sounded almost as silly to me as they must have to her. Summer school, for example. It's true it would have given her a head start when she started high school in the fall, but Vicky had announced she'd had school and wasn't going back - ever. I pointed out that there were laws in Illinois to keep people in school until they were sixteen, but I hadn't the heart to press the point. When I mentioned a YWCA or Girl Scout summer camp she laughed in my face; when I started singing the praises of long, quiet days of reading in the library, she just stared incredulously. No wonder. Her attention span was scarcely equal to a movie magazine.

One evening just before dinner, Vicky went down to the corner drugstore to buy some hair rollers. Later that night three young men appeared on our front steps - the ugliest looking young thugs I'd ever seen. I was thankful Herb was home. They stood slouched on the door steps, looking us over with icy, arrogant eyes. "We're here to pick up Vicky," they announced.

"No, you're not," said Herb. "Vicky's under age and you know it. And unless you get away from here right now, I'm going to call the police." They turned without a word and walked away.

As Herb closed the door, Vicky came plunging down the stairs, screaming for the men to wait. Herb blocked her way, but she fought him like a wild thing - kicking, clawing, hitting, trying to get out the door. When she heard the car drive away, Vicky suddenly stopped struggling and burst into tears. Sobbing, she turned and ran upstairs.

I was trembling all over; Herb dabbed with his handkerchief at the scratches Vicky's nails had left on his face. "You realize we're merely shutting the barn door, don't you?" he said. "Do you know what a hopeless job we've tackled?"

"What else was there to do?" I asked. "Simply abandon her? As for your barn door - I'm not so sure the horse has been stolen yet. No matter how tough Vicky sounds, she's really only a child. And I doubt that she's really done, or knows, all that much. At any rate, we can't back out now."

"Well," he said, "You know I'm one-hundred percent behind you. But I just don't want to see you hurt."

"I won't be hurt," I said, "but I think Vicky might be."

That night I woke to hear her crying - a lonely, lost sound. Aching for her, I lay listening for a while; then I got up and went into her room. Her sobbing stopped as soon as I opened the door, and when I bent to touch her, she flung me off fiercely. So I left her alone.

The next night she ran away. She cleaned out my purse and took the grocery money from the kitchen and ran as fast and as far as she could. But it wasn't far enough. The next afternoon the police brought her back to us with a warning that if she couldn't behave herself - or we make her behave - she'd be turned over to the juvenile authorities.

Herb and I went up to her room with her and sat her down for a talk. Herb began. "Vicky," he said quietly, "you'll have to make a choice. We're your only relatives and you'll have to live with us or go to a juvenile home. And they're not very choice places to live."

Vicky turned a desperate face to us. "Why don't you let me go?" she asked passionately. "Why can't you leave me alone? I don't want you and you don't want me. Tom treats me like dirt and this place is dead, dead, dead. Why don't you let me go back to L.A.?"

"Because we're responsible for you," I said. Vicky moaned.

"You don't have to be responsible for me. I can take care of myself."

"Your mother thought she could take care of herself too. Do you want to end up like she did?"

"She was stupid, that's what was the matter with her. Look at the mess she made of her life on account of having me."

"Yes, exactly," said Herb. "Just look. And remember, she ran away from home when she was about your age. No wonder she made a mess of things."

"Vicky," I put in, "she did her best to take care of you. She could have put you out for adoption, but she didn't; she loved you too much to give you away." Vicky's eyes widened and her expression changed.

"Yeah," she said slowly. "Maybe that's right." She paused. "But maybe I'd have been better off if I'd been adopted. Maybe some nice rich people would have taken me. Maybe she should have let me go."

"Possibly. But that makes no difference now. What counts is that you have a home with us now . . . And Vicky, we do want you. It's just that we haven't had time to get used to each other, much less to love . . ."

"Yeah?" Her guard was up again. "Well, I had a lot of friends in L.A. Not squares, either. Good friends. Man, we really lived out there. If I went back I could get to be an actress and live a little too. How can anybody do anything here but rot?"

While I searched for an answer, Herb got up and went downstairs.

Later that night, lying awake, I wondered if it wouldn't be best if Vicky did just disappear and leave us with our peace again. But still I wasn't ready to give up . . . Last night wasn't the first time Vicky had mentioned getting to be an actress. Maybe that was the wedge I needed. I decided to try once more.

Next morning I went to her room, switched off her record player, swept a pile of junk off her chair and plunked myself down.

"Vicky, I've a proposition for you."

"Oh yeah?" She was bored.

"I'll see that you get acting and dancing lessons in the fall, if you'll promise to do something for me now."

"Like what?"

"Like helping me out as a volunteer at the hospital three mornings a week for the next seven weeks."

"Seven weeks!" It seemed forever to her. "Hospital? You're out of your mind!"

"Suit yourself. But you might find it interesting. Anyway, that's my offer. Take it or leave it."

"I'll leave it!"

But the next morning as I backed out of the driveway, she came galloping out of the house and jumped into the car. "I'm not promising anything," she said, "but I'll try it for one morning. What've I got to lose?"

"Fair enough," I said. We drove along for a while in silence; then she said, "What kind of a place is it? What do we do?"

"It's a state mental hospital, and we talk to the patients, play games with them, try to interest them in living again."

"What? A place for nuts? A loony bin? No, ma'am! Not for me!" Without a word I pulled over to the curb and she jumped out. But before I could drive away, she climbed back in, muttering.

At the hospital parking lot, the first thing she noticed - you could hardly miss them - were large signs, in big red letters, which warned, LOCK YOUR CAR. ROLL ALL WINDOWS UP TIGHT. "Good Lord," she said, "what a rotten place to bring a young kid!"

I burst out laughing. "Listen, young kid. A lot of other young kids work as volunteers here, but you don't have to. The bus line's right over there." She gave me a blistering look, but stayed.

I had been assigned to the Activities Building for Intermediate Women, that is women who were far enough along in their treatment to be able to attempt simple games and handicrafts.

Vicky and I made our way through about fifty women to a big table by a window, and I began to unpack my supplies. I gave Vicky a big carton full of yellow paper and crayons and told

her to organize a group at another large table. She looked scared, but she went right to work. As the morning wore on, I saw that she was doing a far better job than many more experienced volunteers I'd worked with. For the first time since I'd known her, I could be proud of her.

One of the women who happened to be in her group was Mrs. Kuhn. Hers was a tragic story. One morning, two years before, she had been watching her youngsters cross a street with some other children on their way to school. A truck had run a stop light and smashed into the group, killing four children, including all three of Mrs. Kuhn's children. Since that day, she had not spoken. She ate, slept, did exactly as she was told, but her shocked mind allowed no other messages to get through; she did not recognize her husband, her mother. She had been put in the intermediate group in the slim hope that something might kindle a spark.

At Vicky's table she simply sat staring at her paper and crayons. The other women drew with wild, slashing lines, or traced slow, careful strokes; Mrs. Kuhn did nothing. This attracted Vicky's attention and I took time out to tell her the story. After that she sat down by Mrs. Kuhn, took her hand in her own and made her draw. And she stuck by her for the rest of the afternoon.

After the first day, Vicky came with me regularly without an argument. She made no attempt to help the other patients but spent all her time with Mrs. Kuhn - taking her out for long walks through the grounds, holding her hand gently, directing all the force of her strong, young nature toward the woman's sick mind.

Then a wonderful day came, near the end of August, when Mrs. Kuhn looked up as we came in and said, "Vicky." She said just that one word, just one and just once, but for Vicky it was enough.

The Friday before Vicky's last week I took her to Chicago, to enroll in classes in drama and the dance. Next Monday when we reached the hospital, she could hardly wait to share her great news with Mrs. Kuhn. "Hey, where is she?" she asked when we came in. "Is she sick or something?"

"Didn't you hear?" said one of the attendance. "It was in the papers. She went home on a pass. First time. Only she jumped from the third floor. She's dead."

Vicky went chalk white, her eyes wide and blank with shock. I put my arms around her but she shrugged me off fiercely and went to work. We stayed until our time was up.

The storm broke a few blocks from the hospital. I stopped the car in a quiet little side street. Vicky huddled in her corner, wracked with hard, silent sobs. Tears filled my eyes. I pulled her toward me and held her tightly while I stroked her tumbled hair. Heaven knows what I said to her, but after a while she straightened up. "What the hell," she demanded "is all this 'honey' and 'Vicky, dear' stuff?"

"It's for you," I said. "Want it?"

"I guess I do," she said with a wry little smile.

We were on our way again when she said, "You know what I'd have done if I'd lost my kids? I'd have gone right out and had three more kids!"

"Yes, so would I. I guess."

"Well, why didn't she? Why did she have to die?"

"Because she couldn't face it. Vicky, some people just can't solve their problems; others can. I don't know why."

"Well," she said, "I'm not one of the ones who can't."

"No, you certainly aren't."

"But I think my mother was. She solved her problems with the bottle."

"Yes, but Vicky, she couldn't help it. Don't hate her for it."

"Maybe you're right," she said. "Hating's a helluva drag."

Life with Vicky is noisy and strenuous. At the eleventh hour she decided that acting classes wouldn't be such a "helluva" good idea after all; might as well go to high school and read plays and all that jazz.

So she did, but her classes have been plain agony for her. Recently she had midterms and even Tom got pulled into the terrible struggle. It took all our united efforts to drag her, moaning, swearing and floundering, through her exams. But she managed to squeak through in every subject, and we were all so proud we had a gigantic celebration - just the four of us - eating pizza and French fries and snake dancing all over the house. I still haven't recovered.

I won't, in fact, ever recover from Vicky, and I don't want to. If we've saved her - no, that's too strong; we've only helped her save herself - from the kind of life that defeated her mother, she's brought a gust of fresh air into our lives. More often than not, it's a gale that threatens to bring the roof down over our heads. But for us it's full of sweetness, too. And the joy of gaining, in so unlikely a fashion, the daughter we've always wanted.

JUVENILE COURTS: THE LEGACY OF GAULT

"Reasonable but costly." Juvenile court judges, you may be sure, have been discussing the effects of the Gault decision on our courts and the children they serve. Although we may feel that the court opinion went a little far or that we would not have written it just as it is, we think its intent was to add to, not take away from, the protection of children. We feel it will change good courts less than those not so good.

In reading the decision I found little with which I could not agree. If a child's liberty is at stake, he certainly has the right to be notified far enough in advance to prepare defense, to have legal counsel, to question witnesses, to remain silent, and so on. All these due process requirements can be met and the nonadversary proceeding still preserved, although it will not be easy.

The greatest and most immediate effect of the decision will be to raise court costs. To provide defense counsel for all or most cases will require a corps of attorneys. There must be legal counsel also to present the evidence in the interest of society. Use of counsel will lengthen hearings, taking more of the judge's time and thus requiring additional judges. More probation officers will also be needed because of the increased time spent in court and additional paper work. Court reporters must be hired to provide complete records of court proceedings.

The increase of costs will be great. And this is rather ironic in the face of the high court's criticism of juvenile courts for failing to provide needed services (which they lack funds to provide). Now we may be forced into providing five-hundred-dollar hearings while still offering the five-dollar treatment.

Since it will often be difficult to find an open date for one or several attorneys, long delays may result. "Justice delayed," it has been said, "is not justice," and this is particularly true in children's cases.

Children brought up on TV's court drama may feel all they need do is get an attorney, and no matter what their offense their "mouthpiece" will set them free. In some instances children may be influenced not to tell the truth as quickly as before Gault. In the brief experience we have had, however, we find that attorneys not only encourage children to tell the truth but are able to bring out facts that had not been available to the court. Attorneys recognize an obligation to both children and society.

On the surface the decision would seem to make the courts lean a little more toward criminal procedure. Since most children admit their acts of delinquency, however, attorneys will be of more help in reaching an intelligent disposition of the case than in establishing the facts of delinquency. Individualized justice and personalized treatment, which are basic in the juvenile court's purpose and philosophy, can do more for the rehabilitation of children, to the benefit of society, than the rigid rules of criminal law. We are certain that juvenile courts with proper understanding and purpose, careful protection of children's rights, and the aid of attorneys can continue to be child-centered courts of individualized justice.

We think it quite possible that as more and more attorneys become involved in juvenile court work, more of the things so badly needed - detention homes, social and psychological services, training schools - will be provided.

"Wholly unsound, . . . sadly unwise." From a technical legal standpoint, the Gault decision is a fascinating tangle of complexities and obscurities, a plaything to delight learned professors and law review writers for a long time. My views, those of a legal technician,

are concisely expressed by Mr. Justice Stewart in his dissent: "I believe the Court's decision is wholly unsound as a matter of constitutional law, and sadly unwise as a matter of judicial policy."

From a practical legal standpoint, only one really new thing appears clearly in the decision: the requirement that in proceedings to determine delinquency the child and his parents not only be advised of their right for legal counsel but be provided with counsel at public expense if they cannot afford their own.

To me, there are two very troublesome things about the decision. The first is that the learned justices should have so little understanding of what really goes on in a juvenile court, despite their wide reading on the subject. The record in Gault shows that the case originated in a state which has never updated the crude statutes of seventy years ago, and that the officials involved in it at the lowest levels were so imprecise in both action and expression that it is impossible to know what really happened in the juvenile court. The high court seems to regard this bucolic sloppiness as standard juvenile court procedure. Yet it is safe to say that of the huge number of juvenile cases tried each year, more than 90 per cent are handled under modern statutes and by highly professional people.

The vast majority of children who appear in juvenile court receive, as a matter of course, far more protection than the Gault decision gives them. I have been there and I know. Those who talk differently base their opinions on hearsay or their own unorthodox practices.

The second and most serious trouble is that the legal matters considered in Gault are utterly inconsequential in achieving the results that juvenile courts are designed to achieve.

The juvenile court represents the state as a wise parent (the doctrine of *parens patriae*). Its purpose is not the punishment of children in trouble but their reformation and rehabilitation. It is often referred to as a court of individualized justice, and there is nothing dedicated professionals desire more than to make it such. But the necessary treatment resources are still withheld or furnished grudgingly in stingy amounts. The courts cannot function as they want to, and as they should. If the Gault decision should encourage people to think that a few simple legal changes can enable the courts to do a better job than they are doing, it would be tragic indeed.

You can give a child constitutional rights and formal legal procedures until they come out his ears, very cheaply and easily. But if he is heading for a criminal career, these things will not stop him. In fact, they may even help him along the downward path. If, after he has had every right in the book and been judged delinquent, the court can do nothing but send him to a short-term custodial institution or place him under the supervision of an undertrained, overworked probation counselor, his rights are useless to him and to the public.

Judge Paul Alexander said, "Attitudes are not changed by platitudes, but human conduct can be changed by human contacts." What our children in trouble need is not the platitudes of a Gault decision but more and better human contacts. Nothing else will do much to stem the rising tides of delinquency and crime.

"Timely and welcome." The Supreme Court decision brings a timely and welcome end to the conception of the juvenile court as a child welfare agency. It provides long overdue recognition that the intent to do good to somebody against his will is no excuse for violating his constitutional rights.

The impact of the decision on juvenile court proceedings will vary. In New York it will be minimal since the safeguards upon which the Court insists are already provided. In other states major modifications of law and procedure will be necessary. The most salutary benefits will accrue to the less densely populated areas where juvenile court jurisdiction does not provide the judge with social and psychological services and the child with constitutional safeguards. From now on children will at least have minimal protection against the delinquency-producing apparatus that is falsely labeled "rehabilitative treatment."

The decision may prompt states to reconsider a proposal made by the American Law Institute in the Model Youth Correction Authority Act. This proposal recommends that the process of determining whether a child is delinquent be clearly separated from the disposition or sentencing procedure. It further recommends that the determination of delinquency should be a function of the court, and disposition of the case a function of a panel of persons whose primary training is not in the law but in social and psychological sciences.

Some states may wish to retain the juvenile court solely to determine whether the alleged delinquent properly comes within the purview of the law. They may wish to establish, as adjuncts to the court, youth welfare boards concerned with rehabilitation.

Another happy result of the Court's decision may be an intensive look at the need to develop services for youngsters who are more troubled than in trouble. The bulk of boys, and most certainly girls, who come before the juvenile court are there for behavior that would be neither a misdemeanor nor a felony if committed by adults. Almost all juvenile court statutes permit jurisdiction over children who are "incorrigible, unmanageable, runaways, or associating with dissolute companions." Through such terminology the court becomes a dumping ground for youngsters whom society or family has failed. The youngsters thus become entrapped in a system that marks them as delinquents and increases the likelihood of reappearances in court. There is only an illusion that something constructive is being done.

The decision may make it more difficult for juvenile courts to assume jurisdiction under such catch-all categories as incorrigible. It may also encourage state legislatures to reword their juvenile court statutes to limit jurisdiction to acts that would be a crime or misdemeanor if committed by adults.

This revision would result in an immediate and enormous decrease in statistical delinquency. It would keep many youngsters out of a system that seeks to cure but often only aggravates the disease. It might even spur the public conscience to create the kind of social facilities troubled children need.

"Due process is primary." State laws established juvenile courts, but unfortunately the laws did not establish guidelines or requirements for procedure except in very general terms. The matter was left to judicial interpretation. In many states the rules of civil rather than criminal proceedings became applicable. This created the problem of whether or not the Constitution's "due process" requirements apply in juvenile cases. The problem is now resolved in part by the Supreme Court's decision in the Gault case.

Basically the juvenile courts are courts of law and not social agencies. But they do have social services appended to them, and under the *parens patriae* doctrine they have a special responsibility, of a parental nature, for delinquent children. The wise parent restrains and corrects his child when necessary. When the parent fails or is unable to do so, the state, as *parens patriae* (the parent of the country), has the duty to take over these parental functions through due process of law. This the state does through the juvenile court system.

Due process and the parens patriae concept go hand in hand. One cannot exist without the other. The old riddle of which came first, the chicken or the egg, does not apply. Due process is basic. The parens patriae functions follow. For juvenile proceedings the Gault decision establishes to some extent substantial legal standards, which are to be complemented by benevolent motivation, plus careful, compassionate, individualized treatment (the parens patriae concept). The decision does not abolish juvenile court practices based on parens patriae when they are imbedded in constitutional due process.

We might think of the juvenile court as a legal hospital, where, after the constitutional basics have been met, treatment and rehabilitation begin. The hearing to determine whether a child is delinquent is comparable to the physician's examination of the child. The finding of delinquency ("adjudication" is the formal term) may be compared to the physician's diagnosis, treatment and rehabilitation begin.

The judges in my particular court, among others, have always adhered in general to Gault's four constitutional requirements: full, formal, timely notice; the right to counsel; confrontation with the complainant and subpoenaing of witnesses in behalf of the child; and the right against self-incrimination. To our court practices Gault adds the following: The notice must contain particulars; counsel must be assigned to the indigent; and the privilege against self-incrimination must apply in every case, not just generally:

For many years our court has attached to all our papers a Legal Rights and Privileges notice, informing the child of his right to counsel and his right to bring witnesses or have them subpoenaed. The notice concludes with this sentence: "Wherever possible under law, it is this Court's purpose to correct and to rehabilitate rather than to punish, and the Court welcomes assistance in the accomplishment of this purpose."

I would say here what I said elsewhere before the decision: "In the juvenile court, juveniles do have the right to due process, which consists, at its maximum, of a full, formal, civil procedure hearing."

"Reasonable but costly" by: G. Bowdon Hunt, judge of the Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court, Polk County, Bartow, Florida

"Wholly unsound,...sadly unwise" by: Don J. Young, United States district judge for the northern district of Ohio.

"Timely and welcome" by: Bertram M. Beck, executive director, Mobilization for Youth and Henry Street Settlement, New York City.

"Due process is primary" by: Leo G. Chimo, director of legal services for the Juvenile Court of Cuyahoga County, Ohio.

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DRUGS: THE MOUNTING MENACE OF ABUSE

"More and more of us are becoming dependent on drugs, hiding from the realities of life - or using them just for thrills. Drug abuse cannot be connected only with narcotics users. The alarming rise in the abuse of stimulant, depressant and hallucinogenic drugs cuts across all strata of society." - James L. Goddard, MD, Commissioner, U.S. Food and Drug Administration

America's reliance on drugs is unequalled in the history of mankind. We take pills to pep us up, pills to calm us down, pills to gain pounds, more pills to lose them, pills to avoid conception, other pills to help it. For many of us, life depends on drugs. But all drugs are two-edged swords, capable of saving lives or wrecking them. Today, the abuse of drugs poses a major health and social danger. To probe the problem, to understand the why of the abuse and what we can do about it, LOOK writers and photographers have prepared a graphic report to the nation.

Why Americans hide behind a chemical curtain - by Roland H. Berg

An epidemic of drug abuse is sweeping the nation. The contagion, centered on college campuses, also infects high-school students and adults in our cities, suburbs and small towns. No one is immune.

We are a drug dependent society. At its peak is the small, perhaps diminishing, group of narcotic addicts: urban, poor, colored. At its base are the millions of Americans who can't sleep, wake up or feel comfortable without drugs. Most of these are white and affluent. The kids smoke marijuana and pop in hallucinogens; the parents swallow medicines that may be needless, self-prescribed or harmful: barbiturates, amphetamines, laxatives, pain-killers and tummy soothers. They don't know - or won't admit - they are "hooked" on drugs. Their habits create no social stigma. With the exception of marijuana, STP and LSD, their drugs have accepted medicinal uses and can be found in most bathroom cabinets. The trouble lies not in the pills, but in the people.

Drugs are no longer only a slum problem. Some experts even feel that addiction among people living in the hope-killing ghettos is decreasing. They see them rejecting the heroin retreat, not wanting to stay where they are, but get out. Heroin boxes them in.

Meanwhile, serious drug problems sweep through white America: Junction City, Kansas; Pagedale, Mo.; Woodford, Va.; Plymouth, Mich. - places with apple-pie smells and wind-snapped flags. No one knows how many middle-class Americans are involved. The problem is too new for an accurate head count. But there are indicators. There are 12 billion amphetamine and barbiturate tablets and 50 million tranquilizers manufactured in the U.S. About half of these are diverted into the illegal market. In many communities, police report, arrests for the sale of illicit drugs are up 400 percent this year. Drug arrests in wealthy Westchester County, N.Y., for example, jumped from 309 in 1965 to 700 in 1966. Dr. Jean Paul Smith, of the U.S. Bureau of Drug Abuse Control (BDAC), concludes: "In the middle class, we are seeing much more drug use and abuse than ever before."

Police officials estimate that between 15 and 50 percent of the teen-agers in any suburban community may be experiencing with marijuana. In one West Coast town, 15 high-school kids got arrested for using the drug. One father, a church deacon, was the supplier. This spring, at least five New England prep-school boys got busted for drug use; one of them

was the son of a U.S. congressman. A 1967 survey of 2,800 students in upper-middle-class Great Neck, N.Y.'s two high schools showed that eight percent admitted smoking marijuana; six percent took barbiturates without a doctor's prescription; two percent used LSD or DMT. Nassau County DA William Cahn puts the figure higher. He says that one kid out of every six (about 60,000) in his county is experimenting with barbiturates, amphetamines and marijuana. In a night-long sweep through Ventura County, Calif., last April, cops netted 50 people, ages 15 to 32, and found marijuana, LSD, pills and heroin. The raid was the largest in the county's history and hit high-income neighborhoods. Two weeks earlier, the same police arrested 14 other suspects, including two 12-year-olds accused of selling marijuana to teen-agers. Burnell H. Blanchard, supervisor of the Southern California branch of the state's Bureau of Narcotics, says that he is finding more "major peddlers" in high schools. Not long ago, two high-school boys were arrested for selling marijuana by the kilo (2.2 pounds). Last year, a 14-year-old girl tried to make a ten-kilo sale in Northern California. "Our undercover agents," Mr. Blanchard reports, "Are being offered marijuana in ton lots." Arrests don't always enlighten parents. When 22 teen-agers got busted in Queens, N.Y., for selling or possessing LSD, marijuana, barbiturates and amphetamines, one anguished mother told the New York Times: "I'm still in shock, he was never deprived of anything. Do you know what this does to us? We'll have to move. We live in a small community."

LSD and marijuana use, the major problem on the college level, reaches from pot-smoking midshipmen at the U.S. Naval Academy to acid heads in Berkeley. Harvard's freshman class may be "the hippest ever." John H. Finlator, director of the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control, which tracks down illicit pill and LSD markets, told LOOK: "Colleges don't talk to them today. So they listen to Ginsberg and Leary tell them, 'Light up the candles, let's tune in, turn on, take off.'"

Adults may be the biggest drug abusers, a fact hard to check and easy to hide. They can pay others to take their risks: Some women have their maids sneak in their pill supply while they're in the hospital taking the cure. Police and doctors are reluctant to report cracks in the pillars of their communities.

Who are the drug takers? They are the 30-year-old architect in Atlanta who drank and took pills and now can't work. Or the construction engineer who got into debt and took pills for two years to calm his nerves. He can't stop. Or the insurance salesman who drank all the time, and his wife thought the big thing to do was take pills and get high with him. Or the Detroit, Mich., lawyer who took amphetamines to keep him alert through a tough real-estate problem that lasted several weeks. He couldn't stop taking them. He had to use barbiturates to sleep. Over a two-year span of increasing dependence, he couldn't appear in court or work, he got disbarred, his marriage fell apart.

Detective Paul McKenna, head of the Morris County (N.J.) Prosecutor's Narcotics Bureau, tells about suburban housewives who get started on amphetamines to lose weight. "We have husbands call in and say, 'My wife is getting such-and-such a drug from this doctor. Can you stop this?'" Sometimes they can. Who are the drug abusers in affluent Morris? A pregnant nurse using codeine, a pregnant housewife on amphetamines, a husband and wife on narcotics for ten years (the neighbors never knew). One matron had teen-age pill parties and got the kids running burglaries. A woman phoned her pharmacy, posing as a nurse, to get Doriden. A chemist rigged up his own lab and started making mescaline.

Dr. Vernelle Fox, an Atlanta, Ga., psychiatrist, sees middle-income, middle-aged patients with problems of alcoholism and pill abuse. They start drinking and find that pills help the hangovers. A dangerous cycle begins: drink; pills to calm the hangover; pills to pep them up; drink to relax. Dr. Fox also sees the spree-drinking businessman with his little box of Librium or Doriden. Other drug abusers are in the over-65 group, who turn to pills to blur the fears of old age.

Middle-class people are afraid to admit they depend on drugs. Although they are using pills, many may not realize they've got a problem. Some may not even know they are taking them. Dr. Jerome Levine, of the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), says: "There are a great many unknown addicts; they are unknown to themselves and to the community." One Georgia physician had been drinking heavily and using amphetamines. He told his psychiatrist that he had only a drinking problem. But the psychiatrist went to his home and found pills scattered all over the rooms and furniture.

Most of these drug takers get their pills from a legal source - a doctor or pharmacist. The affluent user becomes proficient at talking doctors into writing prescriptions. He studies medical journals and relates lengthy medical histories that call for the drug he wants. Or he tells the physician about the wonderful relief he got from a drug his former doctor prescribed.

Some users go from doctor to doctor, collecting prescriptions, taking them to different drugstores. They go back and tell the pharmacist they lost the pills; he means well and refills the prescription too soon. Few people challenge drug abuse among steady bill payers.

The more desperate steal prescription pads, forge prescriptions, alter amounts and dosage, or impersonate a doctor and telephone prescriptions to a pharmacy.

There are also doctors who do nothing but write prescriptions - 300-400 a day at \$5 a head. Others, nearing retirement, let their names be used for mail-order prescriptions. Last March, an Owingsville, Ky., doctor and a gas-station operator from Salt Lick, Ky., who had been working together, were sentenced to a year and a \$1,000 fine for selling amphetamines. The BDAC agents who testified said the doctor had ordered 756,000 tablets from New York and Philadelphia drug companies. "Enough," said Judge Mac Swinford, who heard the case, "to supply the whole state of Kentucky."

These middle-class drug abusers live in a chemical world that may be more dangerous and harder to escape than their old one. Barbiturates, hallucinogens, amphetamines and certain tranquilizers are dangerous and sometimes addictive.

Essentially, all drugs are harmful. Even when used medically, they do their good deeds by unnaturally altering the function or chemical structure of various organs in the body. A physician weighs carefully potential harm against potential good. The nonmedical, unsupervised use of drugs holds no safeguards, only dangers.

LSD is a case in point. More and more users, taking LSD in city apartments and off-campus houses, are ending up in hospitals with psychoses. Early, inconclusive reports indicate that LSD may also damage chromosomes - the cells that dictate our inherited characteristics. Hard-core acid heads are injecting LSD into their veins - mainlining - for a faster high (the drug takes 15 to 45 minutes when swallowed). They are suffering the needle-induced diseases of the heroin and amphetamine mainliner: local abscesses, phlebitis, hepatitis, endocarditis and pulmonic foreign-body reactions.

A new, more powerful drug, STP, appeared last month in Greenwich Village, San Francisco, and San Bernardino, Orange and Riverside counties in California. At least 12 persons have been hospitalized after swallowing blue-spotted, white STP capsules. The drug, dubbed a "mega-hallucinogen" and "the caviar of the psychedelics," takes a user on a three-to-four-day drug "trip." (LSD lasts eight to twelve hours.) There are two dangers already known about STP: (1) It may cause atropine poisoning, with respiratory paralysis. (2) The tranquilizer chlorpromazine, used to calm down LSD "trippers," can't be taken because it heightens the effects of STP. The letters may come from a motor fuel additive named

STP, which means scientifically treated petroleum.

The case against marijuana isn't clear. Many authorities testify that smoking pot is no more injurious than smoking tobacco - which is not without harm. Physiologically, that's true. Marijuana has been wrongfully indicated as a narcotic. But there may be other dangers in the user's growing indifference to society.

The hang-up on stimulants, depressants and tranquilizers often begins with the physician prescribing the medication for legitimate need. The dangers grow from there. Tranquilizers and amphetamines may induce psychic or emotional dependence. Amphetamines stimulate a feeling of well-being. They pep you up. But they can also cause permanent, organic brain damage or serious psychiatric disorders.

Barbiturates are depressants that help in illness and insomnia. But abused - as they are on a large scale - they have become a major drug menace. Heavy use makes a person stagger, slur his speech, become uncoordinated. An excess can paralyze the breathing center of the brain and cause death. Each year, some 3,000 Americans take a fatal dose, many accidentally. Barbiturates lead all other drugs as a cause of death.

It is easy to take an overdose. The drug confuses thinking, and the body builds tolerance, requiring larger and more dangerous doses to achieve the desired effect. The heavy barbiturate user will suffer the agonies of withdrawal, usually far more dangerous than a narcotic addict's. Barbiturate withdrawal, unless under a physician's supervision, may take as long as three weeks and can result in convulsions and death.

An added danger is that the average physician seldom recognizes a case of true barbiturate abuse. Dr. Sherman Kieffer of NIMH told LOOK: "It's quite true doctors in some suburban areas don't know barbiturate addicts or how to treat them. This is a very serious gap."

Why do we take these drugs? The pressures and demands of society may become too much for adults to bear. They may have family and job problems and anxieties, the feeling of being trapped by split-level existence. They find artificial ways to escape from hard realities. "But more than this," says Dr. Fox, "they are unable to adjust to middle-class adulthood - its mores, hang-ups and pressures. They escape into drugs. This is the insidious kind of thing: They take pills to sleep and pills to stay awake, pills to calm down and pep up. They take drugs to keep going through life."

College and high-school kids are different. They are just starting life. Why do they take drugs?

Dr. Kenneth Keniston, associate professor of psychiatry at Yale University, goes beyond the pat explanation - rebellion, kicks, etc. - to add a new theory. At a Drug Education Conference held in Washington, D.C., he claimed that today's youths who seek an answer to the traditional cry, "Who am I?" face special problems that yesterday's adolescents didn't confront.

Dr. Keniston believes it takes more knowledge to get ahead nowadays, and modern youth is crawling into an inner shell to avoid being overstimulated by the discordant sights and sounds of modern living. The here and now, Dr. Keniston says, have become overly important. How the inner self expands and responds to the immediate experience is all-important. Anything that promises - however falsely - to enlarge the parameters of the mind, is sought after eagerly.

Research psychologist Richard H. Blum, at Stanford University's Institute for the Study of Human Problems, went to the source to learn who takes drugs and why. His findings illuminate Dr. Keniston's. Dr. Blum and his associates interviewed at random 200 persons, young and old, living in the San Francisco Bay area. Their interviews painted a revealing composite of the kind of people who are heavy drug users.

They are more often white than Negro, and they are better educated, divorced more often, earn more money and have fewer political ties than the average person. Also, they rebel against authority and frequently express dislike of their parents, themselves and their work. Heavy users reveal strong likes and dislikes, are compulsive about their activities and show numerous signs of inner conflicts. They use drugs for religious motives or for self-analysis. As a group, they told of frequent use of medicinal drugs during childhood.

Dr. Blum concludes that those students and adults who turn to LSD, marijuana and pills are "inner" people: those who do not abuse drugs, he calls the "outer" people. Inner people concentrate on the thoughts that swirl within their heads. Outer people look to external experiences, what's happening around them.

Contrary to claims of indescribable delights by some drug takers, most people abuse drugs to relieve anxiety. They're not pursuing pleasure, they just hurt less on drugs. This is true also of hard-narcotic users. A heroin addict told a reporter, "You don't even know what I'm talking about; you feel okay all the time. Me, it costs me \$100 a day just to stop hurting so much."

Fundamentally, drug abuse is a health and social problem, not a police problem. Stopping the hurt isn't easy. The solution is education, not punishment. We are a pill-oriented society, conditioned to find happiness through chemistry. If any "crash" program is needed it should call for more knowledge and understanding of the role of drugs. It should focus on the kids who are trying drugs today on college campuses and in hippy hangouts. They have the most to lose from drug abuse.

We must make the outside world more attractive than the inner. Arresting people and putting them behind bars is no better than letting them hide behind a chemical curtain. Either way, they are in prison.

Look
August, 1967

DRUGS

Thousands of young people, from all parts of America, have come to San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury district this summer. As part of growing up, they use drugs and sample communal living, trying to explore and change their inner selves with LSD and other chemicals. Most will return home this fall after their vacations.

Many, however, plan to stay. They have quit parents, homes, schools and careers. They hope the Haight-Ashbury will derail their lives, throwing them off the track their elders laid. Seeking new experiences, they take self-destructive drugs like heroin and Methedrine as well as self-exploring psychedelics. They change their names to prove their "liberation" and live primarily for euphoria. They bury themselves in the present.

Others become lost from society and from their selves overnight. They take drugs that trigger frightening personal revelations and, sometimes, psychotic behavior. Even if they use LSD only once, their "bad trips" may never end. Alone in a strange city, they do not know who can help them "get down." Having defied California and Federal laws on taking drugs, they feel outside society, afraid of its police and health officers. When their pain finally becomes unbearable and they cry out, few hear their pleas or understand their needs.

David Smith is one man in San Francisco who knows drugs and listens to the young. Trained in toxicology and pharmacology at the University of California medical school, he runs the Alcohol and Drug Abuse Screening Unit at San Francisco General Hospital. The year-old public health program offers medication, counseling and hospitalization for drug users and abusers without threat of police involvement. Many of Smith's patients, like the lost girl on this page, come because they trust the young doctor. Only 28, he speaks their language, listens to their music and likes it. He is a friend to the young leaders of the Haight-Ashbury community and urges them to send runaways to him for treatment.

Some older critics wonder if Smith is mature enough for his responsibilities. He answered one: "LSD wasn't in the pharmacology curriculum five years ago. My practice was created by a problem. I may be working in the unknown, but no one else seems to care." A colleague goes further, saying, "Dave is one of the few doctors in San Francisco who knows how big the problem is, let alone how to treat it. And his feeling for the problem is perhaps his best qualification for the job." This June, David Smith opened a Haight-Ashbury Medical Clinic. At the time, some 300 young people were coming into San Francisco each day. Instead of welcoming the visitors or preparing for their problems, the city's political leaders were encircling the Haight-Ashbury with police, hoping to "starve" its young community. Dr. Dave disagreed. He believed the kids could not be wished, or willed, away. "The Haight-Ashbury is a great experiment in modern living," he said at a news conference. "These young people constitute a minority group, and as such, they deserve special treatment. Health services, like love, should not be conditional."

Smith operates his seven-room clinic above a Haight-Ashbury store. His visitors sit on shipping crates and well-worn chairs. His medical supplies, donated by some of the nation's biggest pharmaceutical companies, fill one small closet. Psychedelic drawings, personal messages for runaways and lists of badly needed supplies liven the walls. A 30-year-old ex-businessman supervises volunteer "nurses" from the community. Doctors and University of California medical students drop in to help. A sign on the door reads: "Haight-Ashbury Medical Clinic Loves You." Hundreds of drug users and abusers have come through that door in past months. Still more are learning that members of the medical profession do care about young people with problems, even though present laws brand them as felons.

Like many doctors, David Smith does not believe in "sinners." He does believe in sickness and in education as an effective cure. He talks on television panels, lectures parents and their children in the suburbs, arguing that scientific facts are the best antidote to drug myths. He warns the young against false prophets and untested drugs, whether designed to expand consciousness or cure the common cold. And he is no less vehement with parents. "How," he asks suburban mothers, "can you expect your children to respect authorities who will ruin a person's life for possession of marijuana or put a man in jail for using a drug with the abuse potential of a cocktail? Police tell young people that smoking pot will turn them into addicts. The kids know it's not true. They figure they've been handed lies about other drugs as well, and go on to try them. We can earn their respect only by telling them the truth and treating drugs as medical, more than police, problems."

Smith also is pushing further into pharmacological research with many of his former professors. Together, they are trying to stay ahead, or at least abreast, of the new drug products of the underground. Recently, they found young people using STP, which gives a three-to-four-day bad "trip." "This points up the value of acting, rather than reacting to a problem," Smith reports. "We found STP before it spread, and could warn kids and doctors. But we are still far from an antidote." One reason is that Federal and state laws seriously inhibit drug-testing; and although Smith has received increasing encouragement and offers of financial aid from the city Public Health Department, his clinic lacks the full support of many parents and politicians. So far, the doctor has walked a tight-rope between two generations. He can keep his balance and hold open his lines of communication only if young and old will follow his lead in refusing to take sides. "We can work out problem out together," David Smith says, "We can't afford not to do so."

DRUGS

"It can't happen here," sing The Mothers of Invention. But it does. The innocent Midwest is tuned in, baby.

by Jack Shepherd

Marijuana gets to Chicago direct from Mexico. A young man known to some as Ed makes his contact, packs the trunk of his new car with kilo bricks and heads west. His stops include the Universities of Illinois, Southern Illinois, St. Louis, Missouri, Kansas State, Kansas - with side trips to Iowa, Iowa State, Wisconsin and a scattering of art institutes and small colleges. He makes regular runs between Chicago and Denver.

Marijuana (pot, grass), once a slum drug, has moved out into leafy suburbia and on to hundreds of college campuses. Says a 17-year-old prep-school boy: "You might as well face it. If you're going to college, you'll probably smoke pot." He may be right. More than 675,000,000 marijuana cigarettes (joints) will be smoked in the U.S. this year, enough to give 12,000,000 weekly users a "high" every Saturday night. Most of these pot-heads are college students, part of a swelling campus underground of drug users with their own rituals and retreats, insights and dangers, and language. They know when Bob Dylan sings "Ev'rybody must get stoned," that he doesn't mean with rocks (or liquor).

One of Ed's regular stops is Columbia, Mo., nestling place for 21,000 students at the University of Missouri, Christian and Stephens Colleges. His drop is made every two weeks from Kansas City (LSD comes in the same way). Says one student contact, "Grass is as easy to get as beer for someone under 18."

Student dealers place their orders. Half a pound of marijuana in Columbia costs \$90 - \$120, depending on grade and supply. A surprising amount of it - and LSD - is given away. Kids chip in \$5 and \$10 (for nickel and dime bags); the dealers collect from a lot of students. Just before exams, three dealers bought a kilo brick (2.2 pounds) of marijuana, good for at least 2,300 joints. The brick, with seeds and stems in it, is hustled to an off-campus apartment and carefully cut with a bread knife. Each student dealer breaks his share down into dime and nickel bags. A few customers order in ounces - seven nickel bags to an ounce - but most place smaller orders. The grass gets wrapped in tinfoil, plastic sandwich bags or typewriter paper, and distributed.

All of this is done quickly. Part of the ritual is the risk. (Under Federal Law, the sale, possession or use of marijuana is a felony; the sale of LSD is a misdemeanor.) Last fall five girls got bounced for smoking marijuana joints. Three Mizzou kids were arrested for using and selling the stuff. Columbia townsfolk grew fretful about "dope addicts" on the campuses, and the county prosecutor called a grand jury last winter. This spring, at least three kids were grabbed on LSD charges.

Grass is sometimes smoked in the dorms or, when rebellion runs high, in the student union. But most light up off campus. Perhaps 25 percent of local college students have smoked pot. They walk treelined streets, climb to attic pads or plush, new concrete apartments or run-down frame houses on the edge of town. They are student leaders and dropouts, YAFers and hippies, debutantes and farm girls. They come together because they like each other, it's fun, it's their own ritual.

They are open, honest, bright kids. Some wear uniforms and beads of the hippy tribe. Soft bells tinkle gently on wrists and ankles, on jackets and boots. Lights dim, candles soften corners, conversations gently stir the room. Music inflates and bumps along the ceiling.

Marijuana is this generation's alcohol. Potheads don't drink. The grass is spread on paper, seeds and stems removed by a student who rolls the joint in Top of Zig-Zag wheat-straw paper, twists each end and carefully brushes up the leftovers. Not a leaf gets lost. Everyone draws into a circle, each student noisily takes his drag, sucking the smoke and air deep into his lungs, passing the joint, holding the smoke as long as he can, letting it out slowly. A closeness builds up. The room grows quiet. Hands touch as the joint passes. The music seems beautiful. The butt, or roach, is tucked into the Y of a split paper match. Mizzou students call a Jefferson airplane, and smoked down further. When it can't be dragged any more, it's eaten. (One Stephens debutante whispers that the name roach "comes from the environment, obviously.") The room grows soft, smoke-filled, warmly pleasant. Colors brighten, perception distorts: the room narrows and lengthens. Everyone wants to know how high everyone else is. "I find myself wandering through music, becoming part of music," says a journalism major. "I ate a boiled egg, and it really heightened my awareness," says a co-ed. "I never realized what a boiled egg was before."

That ends it. The boiled egg wins - marijuana greatly stimulates appetites - and the students get up and eat or begin slowly drifting out for dinner.

Later, they turn on with LSD. Most acid heads (LSD users) also smoke grass, but acid is their "thing." Usually, someone "drops" a cap of LSD spontaneously, without deciding before that he wants to "take a trip" (go into an LSD experience).

Vern Merritt and I got to know students who took acid trips as often as twice a week. A few "went up" three times. We heard of others dropping two to five caps and "tripping out" for two or three days. One chemistry major told me: "I don't take acid more than once every other day. I have a lot to think about, and don't want to get ahead of myself."

One student dealer - "It's a seller's market," he argues, "the word 'pusher' is a misnomer" - sold 450 LSD capsules in ten days. He estimates that 200-400 college students in Columbia drop an acid cap every weekend. In one four-week period he knows about, enough LSD was sold for 1,500 to 2,000 trips.

Why does he deal? "I'm in debt. I was really broke, and this guy Ed came through and said, 'Do you really need the money?' and I said yeah. I was going to drop out. It isn't any big deal. I'm just turning on and distributing. The risks are very low. I mostly make deals for small amounts. Ed isn't in it for the money. He's a kind of strange, honest man. You deal with a lot of bad people in this. Ed's not a bad person."

"I made \$300 in six weeks. That was enough to keep me in school. I get \$3 to \$5 a cap on campus, but I give a lot away. A lot of people like to turn on other people."

Some kids take LSD trips in their dorms. Most go off campus, to Stephens Lake, private houses or the Missouri River. Few take the drug alone.

Some Mizzou students talk about good LSD trips. They claim feelings of insight, of the unity of things, of seeing "into" people, trees, walls, music. "You close your eyes," says a Stephens girl, "and you get to know your eyeballs." They think LSD cuts away the facades we all carefully build around ourselves. "There are no games on acid," another girl says.

There is little talk during the two-to-three-hour intense period of experience (the drug's effects last eight to twelve hours). "I saw music for the first time," one Mizzou student recalls, "jewel-like light, each portion in a single unit forming lights." Others have reached what they call a "clear, white light." It is an ultimate religious level, perhaps a vision of God. The light, they say, is complete ecstasy, the end and the beginning. One who saw that light told me: "Acid leads to other things - like heaven."

Others aren't so sure. The chemistry major admitted: "There'd be a lot more taking LSD but for the scare of cell damage, chromosome damage, fear of insanity and bad trips." Acid also leads to hell.

Look
August 8, 1967

DRUGS ON THE CAMPUS

Drugs are taken on every college campus. Students smoke and drink, swallow pills to stay awake or sleep.

How many use marijuana and LSD, the most popular illegal drugs, is a guess. Estimates range from 15 percent at Princeton University to 50 percent at San Francisco State College. All that is really known is that potheads - in colleges and high schools - number in the millions, that their ranks are ballooning and that the supply of marijuana is increasing. Smaller numbers, the acid heads, are also turning on with the more hazardous LSD.

A few try hashish, peyote and mescaline, psilocybin, opium, cocaine, amphetamines and DMT (for a 30 minute trip called "the businessman's special"). Others sniff amyl nitrate and Methedrine, or smoke cigarettes through polyurethane mattresses. Some high-school kids play fruit salad, emptying the medicine chest and taking one of every pill. Undergraduates try "natch trips" - getting high on natural foods like wild rice, bananas or nutmeg. But most of that is hard to down; they vomit.

Who are the potheads and the acid heads? Unlike other drug users, says a psychiatrist, "they are usually younger, more intelligent, better educated and from the so-called privileged classes." On campus, they cluster into three distinct groups. The "druggies" try anything, mix pills, are high most of the time. They are steady LSD users. The casual potheads dabble in pills and "hash" and try acid once or twice. The fringe majority, friends and roommates of "heads" puff pot a couple of times and use amphetamines before exams.

Why do they do it? Curiosity, kicks, fun, rebellion, boredom, or for the promise of drug produced produced insight. The pressures on this generation are impersonal, anti-emotional. Colleges are flunkies for the technological age: Perform well or get out. There is no alternative. Drugs create the illusion of a breakthrough to the personal, of love without the consequences of love. But the impersonal age remains intact. The student insists that he is rejecting the system and reaching beyond it. It's an illusion.

A Radcliffe freshman who's taken pot, acid (seven times), amyl nitrite, DMT, hashish cured in opium, psilocybin, Methedrine, Dexaml and tranquilizers thinks that taking drugs is a compulsion. "I can't explain it. Drugs cut off emotions and reinforce what's wrong with me. They cut me off from other people. That's not to say it's not a gas. You can get insights into things. You feel music going inside of you. Conversations seem like melodies."

Marijuana, most widely used, rides its second surge of popularity; the first came 30 years ago when Depression-era devotees called the weed "hay" and "tea." Alarms, most of them sounded by Harry J. Anslinger, then commissioner of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, led to the Marijuana Tax Act of 1937. Now, the law makes use, sale or possession a Federal crime. Narcotics agents snoop around college campuses, undercover "plants" infiltrate student groups. Marijuana arrests have doubled in two years to more than 15,000.

The list of colleges with marijuana troubles reads like an All-America lineup. Among them: Harvard, Brandeis, Cornell, Ohio State, Alabama, Michigan, Northwestern, U.S. Naval Academy, Tulane, Oklahoma, Colorado, Kent State, Columbia, Washington, California, Sarah Lawrence, Princeton. College potheads may get up to 40 years in jail and stiff fines; in some states, anyone who sells marijuana to a minor risks the death penalty.

This is absurd. The severity of the Federal marijuana law far exceeds the danger of the drug. The law needs an overhaul, with smoking marijuana reduced from a felony to a misdemeanor, as with LSD. It should also focus on the sale rather than possession or use of the drug.

Marijuana comes from the crushed leaf and flowering top of the female hemp plant (*Cannabis sativa*). It's a weed and grows almost anywhere. Its effects on the weekly user include: giggling spells, carelessness, euphoria, distortion of time and space (don't drive a car), elation or depression, fascination with a single object or idea. The daily user may experience: frequent paranoia, when friends become enemies, inertia, lethargy, hallucinations, anxiety and depression.

Pot is not addictive; there are no withdrawal symptoms, as with heroin. (Pot may cause psychic dependence, the user wanting to stay high for the emotional charge.) It isn't as habit-forming as tobacco; potheads quit without the willpower agonies of cigarette smokers. There is no hangover or sluggishness, as with alcohol, no damage to internal organs. Pot doesn't lead to crime, although criminals may smoke it (they also drive cars). It's not an aphrodisiac.

Officials at the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, claiming that pot leads to heroin use, argue that as many as 80 percent of narcotic users say they smoked marijuana first. Potheads counter that heroin addicts grow up in a culture that accepts drugs and addiction as the cool way out. College kids don't want to withdraw, they want to reach. John Finlator, director of the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control, which enforces the LSD law, sides with the college kids: "The notion that marijuana smoking leads to heroin addiction is just a lot of you know what. People who use marijuana don't use heroin. They live in two different worlds and are two different people."

In 1962, a White House Conference on Narcotic and Drug Abuse reported, "... the hazards of marijuana per se have been exaggerated and ... long criminal sentences imposed on an occasional user or possessor of the drug are in poor social perspective..."

Marijuana isn't as bad, or as good, as claimed. Some people smoke it, and nothing happens. There is, however, one danger. Some college kids go from pot to LSD.

No one knows much about LSD, not even - bless his guru beads - Tim Leary. Some 250,000 people have taken the drug, many of them college students, and most - 90 percent, says one researcher - in the last year. The LSD seller risks up to six years in jail and a \$15,000 fine.

There is no legal source for LSD in the U.S. The Food and Drug Administration dribbles out its supply only to proved researchers and, says one, "The college kids can get it easier than we can." The black market flourishes. LSD is a chemical any college chemistry major can synthesize from lysergic acid amide. A crude lab yields 15 percent LSD; some yields go up to 80 percent. LSD is colorless, tasteless, odorless. Two aspirin-sized tablets could give 3,000 people a bad or beautiful trip. (Only 35 micrograms turn you on; the usual dose is 200-350 mcg.)

LSD is soluble in water or alcohol and can be smuggled in liquor, perfume or solvents. Kids absorb it in blotting paper and mail it to friends; it's eaten. They put it in chewing gum, sugar cubes, capsules, tablets, animal crackers and little heart-shaped Valentine's Day candies with messages on them. LSD is not addictive. It is not an aphrodisiac, does not lead to crime and other drugs.

In limited, controlled tests, LSD has helped chronic alcoholics, disturbed children, patients with terminal diseases like cancer, or with sexual abnormalities like frigidity and homosexuality. It's also used in psychotherapy.

The dangers of LSD lie in its unsupervised use - which is the way most college kids know it. LSD can trigger psychosis or suicide. Careful preparation - reading and thinking - and protective care by a doctor during use cut this possibility. Psychosis is very infrequent in a protected setting. Still, in the past two years, some 130 patients have come into New York's Bellevue Hospital with acute psychoses or chronic schizophrenia from LSD trips.

LSD affects the central nervous system, causing mood changes, anxiety, distorted perception, hallucinations, delusions, depersonalization. "I took LSD because I was bored and decided something had to happen, and I was curious," says the Radcliffe freshman. "I thought, 'It's going to take me over, and I'll be will-less.' That way, I'll be free from myself completely. You become like God. Confusion becomes magnified and happiness too. You realize how alone you are; it's tortuous."

It is also dangerous. LSD may cause prolonged psychotic episodes, may damage brain and bone-marrow cells, or chromosomes. A person may suffer cell damage after as few as four trips, taking 300 mcg each time. There is also danger of "repeat trips": patients off LSD may suffer from psychoses or hallucinations.

These are the surface dangers. Acid's insidious long term effect may reshape values and personalities.

Most college "heads" smoke pot and swallow acid because they believe these drugs help them reach out, expand their awareness, gain understanding. For some, what goes on inside their skulls becomes more real, more important, than what goes on outside them. The ideal state is being "turned on" all the time. The constant LSD tripper immerses himself in the drug, grows indifferent, withdraws. He devotes himself to increasing the number of acid heads in the underground. His retreat and its ritual, like all hiding places, become a mirage and trap.

"Things don't seem worthwhile," a Missouri acid head says after a trip. "Acid shows you that the goals you're striving for actually don't mean that much anyhow. You've been far beyond those things, far beyond, and they don't really seem to have significance anymore."

One Mizzou co-ed took acid and stopped "because it put me out of touch with things, distorted my understanding." She argues: "People who get involved in the drug scene lose touch with others outside. They want less contact with 'straight' people. It's so much easier for them to communicate with each other. They say, 'Anybody can come in, but you've got to take the stuff.' They soon find that their only friends are 'heads.' I think it's a bad thing, losing touch with others."

This is the irony of LSD. Instead of reaching out, some users curl up in the backs of their minds. The underground creates a student existentialism. Its goals are love, intimacy, directness, empathy. "Being yourself" matters. "Role playing" and "games" do not. But it's a trick: taking drugs itself is a game; the drug tribe plays roles.

I doubt that we can tell college students not to take drugs; we cannot arrest them into submission. These are young, searching, uncommitted, kind, bright, gentle kids. Only the ignorant dismiss them as dope fiends or thrill seekers. Using drugs is how they wish to live their lives, seek experiences, search for meaning. And, we know, some of them make rich discoveries. The sadness is, they must take drugs to see what we, in our hurry, overlook.

"My goals have really been changing the last few months," continues the Mizzou acid head. "I really held on to the nice car and the American-Way-of-Life bit. I wanted to make a lot of money and have a comfortable life. Now, more than anything else, I want happiness and peace. Life means more and more each day. I have a lot more fun looking at flowers now than before. I've really gotten caught up with the sky and sunsets."

Look
August 8, 1967

DRUGS AND MYSTICISM

By J.M. Flagler

Is Timothy Leary "the most evil man in America today," as some critics see him, or "a saint," as I have heard goggle-eyed adherents intone? To put the scene into perspective, in 1963, Leary was fired by Harvard University after using students in controversial experiments with LSD, which causes hallucinations, not an advertised feature of the Harvard prospectus. Leary surfaced on a friendly estate in Millbrook, N.Y., proclaimed LSD a new kind of "sacrament," and went on to found the League for Spiritual Discovery, the first psychedelic religion. The cult has 25 resident disciples at Millbrook.

Recently, Leary hit the glory trail, combining "sermons" with mixed-media "light shows" in what he called "celebrations" of the drug's God-finding properties. The coast-to-coast tour was not a triumph. While the light shows intrigued, Leary's own breathy preachments often evoked such responses as "fraud," "atrocious ham," "unmitigated bore," and even disenchanted many predisposed hippies. The celebrations lost Leary \$10,000 at the box office.

On the fact of it, then, Leary seems but puny menace or paper savior. However, he enjoys unique visibility in the LSD picture. Scientists charge his notoriety with thwarting serious LSD research. Heartbroken parents blame his "turn on, tune in, drop out" dictum for luring good students from school. Conversely, on campuses, even the nonalienated sentimentally defend "Uncle Tim's" right to hallow LSD and his attacks on society's soul-strangulating "tribal games." (The "academic game" is perhaps the renegade psychology teacher's pet peeve, after the "psychiatric game.") And a 30-year U.S. rap (now being appealed) for trying to spirit a few grains of marijuana across the Mexican border last year has given Leary the added appeal of martyr.

When I last saw Leary, a few weeks ago, he had just emerged - barefoot, serene and, as always, personally engaging - from the woods near his Millbrook headquarters. He was wearing not the Hindu dhoti ensemble that he affects in public appearances, but simply a pair of earth-stained chinos. As we sat on steps before the many-towered, 60-room mansion - a Hudson River Gothic curiosity, its walls adorned with cabalistic Oriental art - that houses his cadre of League disciples, he explained that he and his flock were all spending the summer outdoors, "turning on." "The woods are very sensual," he confided. Having myself on occasion been an invited occupant of the mansion, the interior of which is most charitably described as an amiable but unhygienic shambles, I was inclined to see the move as salutary. I had once found myself dining off a kitchen sideboard there along with two ravenous pussycats.

"I've dropped out completely myself," Leary went on to announce, plucking a leaf from his uncombed mane of curling hair. "I'm already an anachronism in the LSD movement, anyway. The Beatles have taken my place. That latest album - a complete celebration of LSD!"

Leary smilingly gave me his "the-whole-world-is-turning-on" look, with which I was by now familiar, but for which I had not always discovered substantiation. In fact, reports indicate that even marijuana-defending college youths are becoming - what else? - leery of LSD, as demonstrable horror stories accrue. Still, Leary - whose own 300-odd trips with LSD have seemingly left him with nothing worse clinically than an incurable case of optimism - can say that in ten years, not only will LSD be legal, but that its celebrants, through "public acts of beauty and humor," will be well on the way to having totally revamped society. My inclination is to respond, "Lots of luck." Society could certainly stand a lot of revamping. Reflecting upon the pastoral and dizzily dilapidated home grounds of the League, though, I can't help but question whether lounging on old floor mattresses, "blowing

your mind," as the cultists say, is what's going to do it. Or giving off "loving and harmonious vibrations" and communing with trees, as Leary says he can. "We're all out of the same cellular bag," he explains.

There is also a tickling question of just how serious Leary himself is about all this. Beauty is dandy, but humor is quicker, and any nonintoxicated visitor to Millbrook soon gets the sense that he is being put on or - in a more durable vernacular - joshed. The feeling is not completely rooted in the middle-aged, middle-class paranoia of a hopeless member of the scorned "whiskey-drinking establishment." (LSD folk sometimes sound like temperance lecturers.) More than a year ago, Leary introduced his famous turn-on, tune-in, drop-out theme, at the same time paradoxically urging on youth a one-year moratorium on LSD, by way of temporarily cooling elderly panic over its benignly inevitable spread. Now, Leary was contritely saying, as he tugged at an errantly overgrown sideburn:

"A dumb, pompous move. My words had no effect on anyone. I had no business telling people when they should use LSD and when they shouldn't." Which sort of squared with an earlier remark of his: "I hope nobody ever takes me too seriously." Well, I didn't, but gee, how about all those kids who may have dropped out of school on your say-so, Uncle Tim?

Between trips - to Millbrook, that is - I have spent some time trying to decipher Leary's theology. In a nutshell, it seems to be that God or His emotional equivalent can be found in every man's 15 billion (by his count) brain cells, the repository of the collective knowledge and energy of the human race and, indeed, the cosmic system. "The first thunderbolt in the pre-Cambrian mud" is recorded there, and with properly guided infusions of LSD you can hear it now. In the course of your trip, you can also encounter Christ and Buddha, mayhap tune in on what Antony said to Cleopatra. (Leary says that he himself has had a fascinating time, looking in on his own raffish French-Irish antecedents as they frolicked in misty hayricks.) Since, in Leary's view, Oriental mystics have long understood these truths about the inner man, Hinduism and Buddhism heavily accent the scientific jargon and psychedelic rock-and-roll rhythms of the cult's rituals. Without LSD, of course, you can't really turn on to the cellular level of consciousness. Even marijuana only gets you to the sensory, or "kid stuff," level. LSD adepts go on to the atomic level, where, according to Leary, "you climb into Einstein's formula," and can scream, presumably with post-trip satisfaction, "I'm dead!"

When I first went up to Millbrook, Leary was winding up a two-week seminar for a group of paying customers, many of them sober, responsible, but questing, citizens - orthodox clergymen included. All seemed to have sustained in good part the prevailing unconventionalities - a spontaneous nude dance around an outdoor fountain by younger cultists, the ubiquitous drone of Hindu sitar music, the curious rooms ("every one a psychadelic trip"), and a hallucinogenic softball game. In the latter, even girl players were bashing out home runs, according to Leary, under the influence of brewed morning-glory seeds. (These make a satisfactory legal substitute for LSD, claims Leary, whose quarters have been raided by local police in vain search for the real stuff.) "Because of the psychedelic time loss," he explained, "the ball seemed to take ten minutes to reach the plate. Gave them a chance to review the whole history of the game back to its Olympic origins before they connected." Which made me reflect that LSD's real future may lie with second-division ball clubs.

The highlight of the visit was a play - the basis of a Leary "celebration" - taken from the novel *Steppenwolf* by Hermann Hesse, German Nobel Prize winner and a hero of the LSD set. A fantasy ("Anybody who doesn't buy fantasy is nuts," says Leary), it carries an alienated intellectual, Harry Haller, under an LSD-like potion, through the various rooms of one Pablo's "Magic Theatre" (For Madmen Only). Among other surreal-adventures, Harry struggles with his inner nature (a "wolf of the Steppes"), relives experiences with past girl friends, is condemned for murder, and is finally let off by a mocking Pablo, with orders to take

life more humorously. I found the book as heavy going as a Leary exegesis, but with professional advice from one guest, playwright Sidney Kingsley, the Millbrook troupe made an entertaining amateur night of it, using Leary as willing star. The light-show effects are the work of two gifted disciples, Jackie Cassen and Rudi Stern.

In San Francisco, site of a recent celebration, a discerning Episcopal clergyman who jousts with Leary perhaps put his finger on the man's problem. "Tim is really a frustrated priest," he said, even before being apprised that Leary had a long Catholic upbringing that took him through two years at the College of the Holy Cross. Leary later spent an unlikely year and a half at West Point where, of all places, he discovered Oriental mysticism. Leary in time found himself as a psychologist. Before Harvard, he was with the University of California at Berkeley, where many regarded him as a brilliant but unorthodox innovator. (To get his 30-year Federal sentence reduced, Leary may have to take a mental exam; he comments that, ironically, it could well be a Government-adopted personality test devised by him.)

Leary's hitch at West Point seems to have left but small mark, although he is a compulsive policer-upper of the grounds around Millbrook, and this keeps him fairly busy, the disciples being notoriously unmilitary in their habits. However, his earlier Church training may account for his bent for ritual; the search for sanctity, albeit in such virgin areas as drugs and sex (touting LSD as an aphrodisiac, Leary makes wilder promises than can be found in the perfume ads); and a growing body of strictures. Embarking upon a sacramental LSD voyage, Leary tells audiences, "You can't bring your bag of lusts with you" - one reason that I have not felt qualified to join in his services. Yet Leary insists that the true LSD experience is a sensual one, ideally undertaken with a member of the opposite sex. "That's what it's all about," he told a, needless to say, receptive Playboy magazine.

His substantial gallery of both pro- and anti-LSD critics scoffs at such claims. "The truth is that, while one person may become intensely sensual, another may become totally asensual," attests a writer who has researched the subject widely and taken many trips, some with the Learyites. "On the whole, LSD makes it hard to concentrate on sex. You drift out." The same observer sees Leary as having shucked off his old ego only to gain "a giant new one. He may mislead a whole generation with his paranoid self-importance."

That, of course, remains to be determined, as does Leary's ultimate sainthood. My own square's-eye view is that his impulses are sometimes deplorably rooted in vanity, a sad corruption of his considerable natural charm. (Impressionable adherents have confessed to experiencing a "contact high" without drugs, just being in his presence.) However, Leary's intentions as social critic, and even as self-inspired chemical Moses, are probably sincere. And he cannot be blamed for inventing the drop-out phenomenon. Nevertheless, he can be taxed with silly, anti-adult broadsides, shamelessly seductive of a troubled-enough youth ("the wisest and holiest generation in history"). He is also both reckless and contradictory in his pushing of LSD: He concurs that it is strong medicine, yet he dismisses all reports of bad LSD reactions as a psychiatric Establishment's Inquisition. Finally, I have seen no measurable evidence for his guarantee that hallucinogens foster creative genius. More likely, they tend to muddle it.

In sum, I would say that, like the Great Oz, Leary is not a bad man; just not a very good wizard.

Look
August, 1967

DRUGS - A PERSONAL LSD EXPERIENCE

by Jack Shepherd

I wanted to take LSD very much. I wanted to see what it is like, to take it the way the majority of college kids do: in an off-campus house, listening to folk-rock, looking at beads and psychedelic posters. How could I write about the college drug scene without getting involved in it? During work on our Potheads in Missouri story, Vern Merritt and I took separate LSD trips on different days. Here is what happened to me, written from my notes and what I told Vern:

11:50 PM. Eight boys and two girls are with me in a cluttered, warm attic apartment just off the Missouri campus. We're all set to fly. One guy just gave me a small red capsule with, he says 250 mcg of LSD. Everyone is happy and excited: "You're going up with us tonight," somebody yells at me. I really want to know what this is like. I pop in the cap, feel it with my tongue, swallow it. I'm off. I wait to get high, and read Kahlil Gibran.

I feel excited, floating, happy. We smoke marijuana, passing the joint around, laughing, talking softly. They tell me that's a good way to float into LSD. Two candles glow in the room, and one dim light. I'm wearing beads a student gave me. There is a deliciously good feeling in the room. We joke about getting me to the St. Louis airport tomorrow, and one acid head tells Vern, who isn't taking LSD, "Just put him in a trunk, man."

12:28 AM. Oh, God - that's the first real feeling: The candlelight turns gold and flows like a tide across the notebook page. I can almost scoop it up. It ripples down the notebook, and I can turn the page and make it come and go. I look up: Colors move, the room comes alive, vibrant, glowing. I never realized this dull, brown room could glow so. An orange flame bursts from the candle, like an explosion on the sun. I'm seeing color for the first time. I drift in and out of this. I'm fluid, floating.

Music is everywhere, clear, precise, as though I had stereo earphones on; it seems important. The words are sharp and profound. I read, and each sentence I look at is clear, but all the rest are fuzzy. That's the way I see: What I stare at directly, I can see through. All of a sudden, I get a clear look at D--'s face, into his eyes, and see everything: Who he is, what he means. I can really see what he's like. The room flowers: I feel great.

I'm playing with two squares of metal. I can see them exactly, the metal seems smooth, an extension of myself. I am metal and molecules and life; this metal is alive, colorful, sliding around in my hands like water. Everything I see, I see for the first time; I feel it is profound. I see the connecting pattern of life, the molecules that form metal and myself. They merge. Am I different from the dresser, the rug, the wall? We are alike.

When I look into the metal, I see an endless landscape, lines stretching out into infinity, flat, purple, green, yellow, black lines; a bright-green tree in the middle distance. I can see the meaning of all life, infinity.

I look over and see H--'s hand held upright, below the candle. I hold the metal square below the hand and they merge - metal, hand, candle - and they seem made of the same flowing, glowing, bright molecular substance. I clock the fluid metal and hear a prolonged, lovely, cliiiick. Everything is in slow motion.

Very quickly, and clearly, an old gilt-framed painting of the Madonna, in black with a gold halo, appears above me. The painting is sideways. I can snap sparkles from my fingertips. When I breathe, flowers spill down the front of me onto the floor. I shut my eyes and look at a candle and see, where my lashes meet, purples greens, yellows, blues. My lashes part in a kaleidoscope of colors.

But I'm playing games. My cheek muscles are tight, I'm gritting my teeth, holding back. Let go, let go. I do - and down I slide into the rug, falling into the pattern, the design surging up around me, engulfing me in light-red paisley prints, brilliant designs. It's wonderful and frightening, sliding away from myself.

(I couldn't get comfortable on the floor. Students started coming in, and I got scared and thought they were going to hurt me. I didn't trust anyone. In the kitchen, one acid head, J--, began hyperventilating, breathing rapidly then blowing hard on his thumbs to make himself faint. He did, falling against the sink, cutting his head. The bloody towels and noise upset me.)

My skin seems tight, and the muscles in my legs, thighs, stomach and chest pull until I think I'll rip.

The music, spilling beautifully over me from the record player above, suddenly grows harsh and coagulates, slowly falling to crush me. I slide down on the floor to avoid it, I can't, it keeps coming, like the ceiling lowering, crushing me. God, turn it off. I've lost control. I can't bring myself out of it any more. I'm trapped, forced to rise and fall into this beautiful, bright pit of color and sound. I see fish, purple, baroque; lights, lots of lights, ON, OFF, ON, OFF. I'm really scared now, really cut off. It's no longer a game. I'm falling into an abyss, face up, that little glow of sunlight disappearing rapidly above me is my sanity. I want out of this. I'm really gone. I feel myself falling again and again, and I can't stop. Each time, I fall through bright pink, red, yellow, green, blue flowers and paisley prints and curls and scrolls of bright colors. I try to reach up, but I can't, and I fall into terrifying fear. I want out. This is going to be impossible.

God, I feel so alone.

2:05 AM. I'm cut off from the others. Very frightened. My hands and feet seem far away. I'm not aware they're mine. I dissolve into things. My hands, feet hurt, and I slap my thighs rapidly. I'm scared.

It isn't physical, I'm not straining to climb out. It's entirely mental, pulling myself up to the edges of my mental pit. When I get there, I see everyone clearly. I seem off the drug. Then I slide slowly back down, down into darkness.

I'm not in control. I rise and fall to the music, in and out of the abyss. I'm frightened to know how far down I am. I can't come back to deal with things I know are there. I can't move outside myself; my mind reaches far beyond me. I want to leave, I can't. I'm aware of the dangers between here and the motel. I don't trust anyone in this room. They're all against me, trying to get me to do foolish things. They are hiding something from me.

Did J-- die after he hit his head? I see the bloody towel on the floor from his fall. Something very serious happened to him; the others are keeping it from me. They are keeping secrets from me. They are hiding something. I ask three of them to leave the room. They bother me; their size and the way they act bother me. They are whispering about me. They leave, and I feel relaxed.

My whole body jumps and feels jangly, electric. I think I'm shaking all over. D-- brings me orange juice in a large glass, and I hold it in both hands and gulp it down without stopping. I really need assurance; keep me on top. Am I shaking as much as I seem to be? It's hard to breathe. I'm afraid of falling back into that abyss. There's a lot of physical pain to this, isn't there? My body aches, and I feel nauseated.

Time seems elongated. I feel as though I've been through a long voyage, painful and interminable. I don't feel secure, I'm dropping off again. Damn, damn.

Don't leave, don't go away. Please talk to me. I trust only D-- and Vern. D-- gets me a glass of water. I hold it in both hands on my stomach and lie on the floor. I dip two fingers into the water and wet my lips. The music scares me; I rise and fall on it.

(I got into a birth position, feet up, knees bent, wiping water across my lips the way I did for my wife when our son was born a year ago. I have sharp pains in my chest, stomach, thighs and legs; pain rolls from chest to legs several times. I feel I've given birth.)

I have no sense of reality, only rising and falling great distances in and out of sanity. Horrible. At 3:07 am., I want to leave badly, but I'm afraid to go outside. This is so ornate - all the way down and all the way out. I can see fluorescent fish, green and blue, totem poles and Oriental statues on the ceiling. My body feels like fine, interwoven steel mesh; fibers and spirals of tension. Only D--, who is also on an LSD trip, can relax me. I can't see his face, he sits on the floor, but the room fills with color. As I grow tense, as I start another fall, I feel my body filling with bright-red air, and it and the room glow with an intense red color. D-- says softly. "Relax, Jack, relax," and the colors soften to yellows and blues and greens. The cycle starts again, the red growing stronger until D-- speaks. He doesn't see me, I don't look at him, but we feel - and need - each other in a strange, powerful way. He superimposes his will over mine. Without him, I'd drop so far down I couldn't get back. We laugh about this. He doesn't understand it either.

5:15 AM. I'm outside on Paquin Street. The sky glows with early dawn. I'm weak, unsteady, unsure of my body. The air feels cool and good. I try to walk, and seem to shuffle. Vern, D-- and I move down Paquin to Waugh. I'm slowly coming back. I know my name, I feel my feet moving, I smell the air. I can make it.

I feel so alone. Vern snaps off a twig of honeysuckle flowers, my first contact with something real. I smell it: My God, it's alive and lovely and I'm all right. I could cry. I hold it gently in my palm and walk back to the house. The horrible cycle of rising and falling is broken.

6:05 AM. At the motel, trying to sleep, I get frightened, the room glows red. I smell the honeysuckle, and the room subsides into yellows and blues. Safe again. I carefully put the honeysuckle in the corner of each page of my notebook as I write. I see a vivid-green train wreck, then yellow-and-orange paisley beetles snapping playfully at me. A little dog scoots in and barks flowers.

10 AM. Blue sparkles shower from my fingers when I snap them. I write in this notebook, and turquoise flows slowly around the tip of my pen and spills like fog over the edge of the pad. My throat is sore, as though I'd been screaming all night. (Vern said I never raised my voice.) When I sneeze, sparkles of blue and green spill onto the floor. I'm still fighting the loss of reality. I feel myself falling again and I get slightly scared. I can stop it by thinking of things that are real and matter to me; my wife, kids, friends, job. I'm rebuilding my ego, piecing it together from these realities.

I'm more aware now of colors and patterns, of the way people get frightened and cut themselves off from each other. I think I know better what love is. I was alone and far from people I trust and love. I got cut off from everyone, including myself. College students take risky trips like mine all the time. What's happening to them?

What if I had no identity, no sure realities? What if I were, as most college kids are, answering the awful questions of adolescence: Who am I? Where am I going? LSD doesn't give answers. Acid doesn't help them build an ego, it destroys it. I know that. I have never been more terrified in my life.

STONED KIDS THINK THEY CAN HANDLE IT

A group of youngsters - the oldest was 14 - formed a circle and solemnly inhaled on a Turkish water pipe until their eyes were glazed and distant. All of them were deep-tanned, sun-bleached, sports-playing, California-affluent junior-high-schoolers, good students and normal children whose parents thought they were off on a picnic. Instead they were stoned - laughing, excited, talking eagerly. Their talk turned to a zealous defense of pot, coupled with a scorn for the other world they see around them. "Just because 95% of the junkies who take heroin have smoked marijuana, everybody gets up in arms . . . It's just not logical. It's not true. We're smarter than that," one boasted. "Kids are a lot more intelligent today," claimed another. "Smoking marijuana makes things look like they really are, and when you can see things clearly you can talk about them and learn."

This is childish bravado, heightened by the marijuana itself. The kids who are so sure they can handle it do not understand the nature of what they are dealing with, nor its effect on their attitudes and outlook. Carelessly tolerant grownups do not help either - nor do the older brothers who slip the kids marijuana. In California - and the problems are not limited to that state - marijuana arrests of juveniles last year were up 140%, and a state narcotics official predicts some 20,000 arrests by 1971. "It's going to take the combined effort of the whole society to cure this thing," says a Los Angeles police officer. But few people, even those now beginning to be deeply concerned, seem to know where to begin.

In the realm of marijuana, it is not easy to separate fact from myth. Still, facts do exist to dispel a great deal of the confusion about marijuana.

What, exactly, is marijuana? It is one of the most ancient of the "psychochemicals" - the drugs that affect the mind. It is neither an opiate (such as heroin), nor an amphetamine (pep pill), nor a barbiturate (sleeping potion). It is rather one of the hallucinogens, or psychedelics, which include mescaline, psilocybin and LSD. (Life March 25, 1966). LSD is the most potent and hazardous of these, marijuana the mildest and least harmful. It belongs to the family of intoxicating substances that go under the generic name of cannabis, because they all derive from the Indian hemp plant, *Cannabis sativa*, which is easy to grow in almost all tropical and temperate countries. From the flowering tops and leaves of the female plant oozes a pungent resin. It is this resin that contains the active intoxicant. When extracted from the plant and concentrated, the resin becomes the most potent of the cannabis drugs: hashish. Marijuana - known as kif in Morocco, bhang in India, and dagga in South Africa, among a whole lexicon of other names - is a smoking mixture made up of dried and crumpled parts of the hemp plant.

How potent is marijuana? Since the resin content is low, it is perhaps one fifth as strong as hashish. But its strength varies considerably. If the mixture consists mainly of the cut tops of the plants, it will be richer in resins and therefore more powerful than if it is mixed with stems and seed pods. The potency varies, too, with conditions of cultivation, methods of preparation and the user's individual smoking style. The same dose affects different people differently, and can even give the same person different kinds of "highs," depending upon his mood, physical condition and surrounding circumstances. This is what leads a scientist like Dr. Edward Bloomquist of the University of Southern California to call marijuana "an unpredictable drug used by unpredictable people with unpredictable circumstances."

Is it habit-forming? No - not in the sense that heroin, morphine or the other "hard" narcotics are. The body develops no tolerance to marijuana - that is, the user does not have to keep increasing the dose to achieve the desired effect. When he quits, there are no withdrawal symptoms. But a man who likes it well enough to continue using it can be said to have formed the habit. "There is a moth and flame relationship between marijuana and unstable temperaments," says Dr. Henry Brill of New York's Pilgrim State Hospital, "and there are more of those than you might imagine. Pot-smoking will do nothing for instabilities but aggravate them." The user who develops a strong psychological dependence upon the drug may become a "pothead" who, rather than face his problem, prefers to escape regularly into a turned-on state.

Does it lead to narcotics addiction? There is no biological effect that primes the marijuana user for the hard narcotics, and most marijuana smokers do not go on to become junkies. Nevertheless, a potential junkie is likely to get there faster if he starts on marijuana; and most junkies do in fact start that way. Moreover, the use of marijuana often leads to experimentation with other drugs, especially other psychedelics, and especially LSD.

Its physiological effects. Marijuana raises blood pressure and lowers body temperature somewhat, raises the pulse rate and slows breathing. It dehydrates the body and increases the need to urinate. It lowers blood-sugar levels and stimulates the appetite. It renders the hand less steady. All these effects are slight and transitory, lasting only a few hours. Continuous use, however, can irritate the eyes and lungs, thus possibly incurring some risk for anyone with eye trouble or pulmonary conditions - eg., asthma or chronic bronchitis. No one has yet demonstrated any long-lasting deleterious effects on the body - though neither has anyone done enough research to provide assurance to the contrary.

Its effects on the mind and behavior. It acts on the nervous system as part relaxant, part stimulant, and the psychic effects may vary from sleepy contentment to wide-awake euphoria. It distorts perceptions and the sense of time and space, though not to the extreme degree LSD does. In unstable individuals marijuana has on rare occasions been known to cause anxiety and panic, and even to precipitate psychotic incidents. Repeated studies have failed to turn up any direct correlation between marijuana use and major crimes. As for sexual desire, or the energy to pursue it, marijuana is just as likely to diminish as to enhance it. A man high on marijuana is not the best judge of his own condition.

MARIJUANA

Almost overnight the U.S. was embarked on the greatest mass flouting of the law since Prohibition. Marijuana, a mild euphoric drug known and used throughout much of the world for centuries and long a part of the bohemian scene in the U.S., suddenly has become commonplace on college campuses, among intellectuals and suburbanites, and - most worrisome of all - even among subteen-agers. Some authorities estimate as many as 10 million Americans have tried marijuana at least once, and the number of users is increasing rapidly. Just how fast can be gauged from the fact that New York police last year seized 1,690 pounds of "pot" - 17 times as much as in 1960 - and concede this is only a fraction of the total coming into the city. Even more significant are the new openness with which the drug is used and the missionary fervor with which marijuana and its more powerful cousin LSD are extolled by an ever-widening circle of believers in mind-expanding drugs, which has now spread far beyond its base in the hippie ghettos. The use of marijuana is encouraged by rock 'n' roll groups, by the editorializing of underground newspapers and by "psychedelic shops."

One reason for the explosion is that old fears concerning marijuana have proved to be exaggerated. Pot is not physically addicting, nor need it lead to crime, immorality or stronger drugs. Other dangers, of course, remain: a driver who is high on pot is as lethal as a drunk, and the laws governing anyone caught possessing or peddling marijuana are extremely severe, often with mandatory jail sentences. Despite the stringent laws, Federal Food and Drug Administration Director James Goddard admits that narcotics agents are unable to control the situation, and even so dedicated a drug foe as former Federal Narcotics Commissioner Harry Anslinger concedes that present penalties are unrealistically severe for youthful offenders. In fact, the very illegality of marijuana is part of its appeal for many young people. Seeing themselves in rebellion against the empty, materialistic striving of their parents, they turn the whole pot scene into a protest tool which they use to mock a middle-class culture they disdain. Used in this way, marijuana often leads them into a drug-culture shadow world and on to a psychological dependence whose implications for users - and for society - are disturbing indeed.

A DIRECTORY OF DRUGS: WHAT THEY DO, WHERE THEY COME FROM, THE HARM THEY CAUSE

Drug	Slang Names	Description	Medical Use	Risks of Abuse
Hallucinogens				
Marijuana Cannabis sativa	Pot Grass Boo	Flowering, resinous top of female hemp plant	None	Altered perceptions, impaired judgment
Peyote Lophophora williamsii	Cactus	Dried cactus buttons containing mescaline. Chewed or brewed.	Some experimental study	Visual hallucinations, anxiety, paranoia, possible psychosis
LSD Lysergic acid diethylamide	Hawk Acid The Chief	Synthetic chemical 400 times more powerful than mescaline	Some experimentation	Visual & auditory hallucinations, impaired judgment, possible psychosis
DMT Dimethyltryptamine		Synthetic chemical similar to mushroom alkaloid psilocybin	Some experimentation, chemical warfare	Possible psychotic reaction
STP Unidentified	None	Atropine-like synthetic	None	Same effects as LSD, but more intense & lasting 3-4 days
Stimulants				
Cocaine Erythroxylon coca	Coke Corinne Happy dust Snow	Isolated alkaloid of coca leaf	Anesthesia of eye and throat	Loss of appetite, irritability, weight loss, insomnia
Benzedrine Amphetamine sulphate	A Bennies (Pep pills)	Synthetic central-nervous-system stimulant	Treatment of obesity, narcolepsy, encephalitis, fatigue, depression	Nausea, hypertension, confusion, delirium, aggressiveness

Stimulants, Con't.

Dexedrine Dextroamphetamine sulphate	A Dexies (Pep pills)	Same as Benzedrine	Same as Benzedrine	Same as Benzedrine
Methedrine Methamphetamine hydrochloride	A Crystals (Pep pills)	Same as Benzedrine	Same as Benzedrine	Same as Benzedrine

Depressants

Nembutal Pentobarbital sodium	Yellow- jackets	Barbituric acid deriva- tive	Sedation Treatment of insomnia	Incoherency, de- pression, pos- sible respiratory arrest, addiction with withdrawal symptoms including vomiting, tremors, convulsions
Seconal Secobarbital sodium	Red birds	Same as above	Same as above	Same as above
Luminal Phenobarbital	Purple hearts	Same as above	Same as bove	Same as above
Amytal Amobarbital sodium	Blue heavens	Same as above	Same as above	Same as above
Miltown and Equanil Meproamate		Non-barbiturate sedatives	Same as above	Same as above
Doriden Gluthethimide		Same as above	Same as above	Same as above
Librium Chlordiazepoxide		Tranquilizer	Treatment of anxiety, ten- sion, alco- holism, neurosis	Blurring of vision, confusion, severe depression

Narcotics

Opium Papaver somniferum (plant)		Dried, coagulated milk of unripe opium-poppy pod	Treatment of pain, severe diarrhea	Loss of appetite, temporary impoten- cy or sterility. Painful withdrawal symptoms.
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Narcotics, Con't.

Morphine	M Miss Emma	10-1 reduction of crude opium	Treatment of severe pain	Same as Opium
Heroin	H Horse Junk Smack	Converted morphine	None	Same as Opium

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

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CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Two Boys and the Death Penalty

Capital punishment is dying in the U.S. There were only two executions last year, just one the year before. A concerted attack is being waged on ground that it is cruel and inhuman vengeance, does not work as a deterrent and is otherwise archaic. Suits by the American Civil Liberties Union and the NAACP Legal Defense Fund have blocked all executions in Florida and California until the question of whether or not the death sentence is still constitutional can be resolved in court.

Public feeling, too, has shifted. Gallup reports that more Americans now oppose capital punishment than favor it, and 13 states have abolished it in whole or part. In the light of such changes in the law and in the people, the situation last week of two of the nation's newest and youngest (17 and 16 years old) residents on death row focused new attention on the issue.

One for the Gas Chamber. When Gary Lee Miller, 17, was charged with the bludgeon murder of Judy Lee Ziegler, 20, few of the folks in Allegany County, Md., doubted that he was guilty. After all, he knew Judy and had been seen walking along the same road that Judy had been driving on the murder night. What's more, he was a strange, unpopular kid and had been convicted of rape three years before. There was so much prejudice against him that his court-appointed attorney doubted that an impartial jury could be impaneled. Rather than risk it, he asked that his client be tried before two Allegany County circuit court judges.

Miller was extensively questioned after being picked up; at the trial, police said that he had made a confession. They also said that he did not ask to see a lawyer or call his parents, and that he had been properly informed of his rights. His lawyer said he hadn't been, and pointed out that he had refused to sign the supposed confession. Nevertheless, using notes, the county investigator at the trial simply read aloud everything that he claimed Gary had admitted. The defense objected, but was overruled.

According to the investigator, Gary said he had been hitchhiking and Judy picked him up. She drove him to the local dump, a favorite petting spot, and made advances. After he tried but was unable to have intercourse, she jumped out of the car and began screaming. Gary then began slashing her and, according to his alleged confession, she smashed her head on some rocks. Police also pointed to bits of supporting circumstantial evidence. A folding linoleum knife was found near the body, and Gary had bought such a knife in a local store. Also, his version of what she screamed ("I'm going to die! I'm going to die!") coincided exactly with what residents heard.

Old Scratch. Gary did not take the witness stand and his attorney merely objected to prosecution allegations and procedures. The two judges took just 20 minutes to convict Gary. But even some of those who thought him guilty felt that flaws in the case had not been adequately brought out. They noted that Gary's parents produced an identical knife and said it was the one he had bought. As for the screams, the police had already interviewed some witnesses by the time they questioned Gary, and it therefore could have been the police who provided Gary's version of the screams.

A number of fingerprints other than Judy's were found in the car, but none of them was Gary's. A spot of blood on the steering wheel was never analyzed to discover whether it matched Gary's type or Judy's. It was pointed out in court that he did have scratches and

bruises on his body that might have been inflicted in a struggle, but the county medical examiner said that he had been ordered not to determine their age. It seemed to him, however, that one scratch at least was more than a few days old.

Despite the doubts, Presiding Judge Harold Naughton remains outspokenly convinced that the boy is guilty and deserves the gas chamber. "There was no defense at all," he says, and the death penalty "has been a real deterrent to teen-age crime."

One for the Electric Chair. On the surface at least, Fred Esherick, Jr., 16, is nothing like Gary Lee Miller. He had never been convicted of any crimes. He was not from the hill country, but from a clean-cut suburb of Cleveland. What Fred did was to kill his father. And he admitted it.

As he testified in extraordinarily grim detail at his trial, he did it with a souvenir bayonet that he kept hidden under his mattress. Laying it on a nearby chair one night, he called in his mother to trim his toenails. For no particular reason, he said, as she knelt to clip "I picked up the bayonet by the blade, and I swung at her. I tried to stop myself when the handle hit her on the back of her head. She fell forward on her hands and knees and screamed for Dad. As I started to run from the room, I slipped on the rug in the doorway and ran into my father, Dad fell to his knees, the bayonet still in him." Young Fred next beat his mother some more, then loaded both bodies into the car and dropped them into a nearby stream. After that, he went roller-skating. The cold water revived his not-quite-dead mother, however, and she lived to testify against him.

Planned Knockout. Esherick's defense was that killing his father was an accident. Mrs. Esherick did not think so. As she told it, her husband had rushed in after she was hit with the bayonet, and son and father had wrestled until she "saw Freddy draw his arm back." She went to the living room, picked up the telephone, and then "Freddy grabbed me from behind. I dropped the phone and passed out." When she came to, her husband's body was stuffed in beside her in the car. "I couldn't figure out where I was. I yelled, 'Where am I? Help me!'" Then I heard Freddy's voice say: 'You're in the trunk. Dad is dead, and I'm going to kill you too.'

Esherick was an adopted child (at age one), and he had generally been a good student and son. But in the year or so before the murder, he had grown increasingly resentful of strict parental regulations. His grades dropped, and he was discovered stealing money on his newspaper route. The day before the murder, he asked a friend to help him knock out his parents so he could run away. Recalled the friend: "I thought he was out of his tree."

The jury thought he was guilty, and after long deliberation it decided against a recommendation of mercy. That made the death penalty mandatory. "I think there were about eight ballots," remembers one of the jurymen. "I was for mercy at first, but the more we talked it over, the more it seemed there just wasn't anything good about the boy."

Now, as Esherick sits on death row in the state penitentiary, he still doesn't know why it happened. He says; "they were always on my back about smoking or something."

Noisy Outcry. There has been outcry over both sentences. Capuchin monks have petitioned Maryland Governor Spiro Agnew on behalf of Miller, and the noise over the jury verdict in Esherick's case was so frenetic that one juror complained: "It seems the boy is getting a great deal of sympathy and the jury, which did its civic duty, is being portrayed as the guilty party."

Even without the outcry, chances are that neither will ever be executed. Governor Agnew is a committed opponent of capital punishment, while Ohio Governor James Rhodes is thought likely to commute Esherick's sentence if all his appeals fail. Neither state has put a man to death in five years, and no one under 18 has been legally put to death anywhere in the U.S. since 1954.

Time
February 2, 1968

JURIES AND THE DEATH PENALTY

The Supreme Court has recently declared unconstitutional the practice of excusing prospective jurors in capital cases on the ground that they are conscientiously opposed to the death penalty. The logic of this ruling is unassailable. Justice Potter Stewart said for the majority: "A state may not entrust the determination of whether a man should live or die to a tribunal organized to return a verdict of guilty." It seems hard to believe that it took so long for this principle to be recognized by the courts. Part of the explanation is to be found in the history of "death-qualifying juries" which was discussed in these pages some years ago by Walter E. Oberer (then at the Law School, University of Texas, now at Cornell), whose studies in this field have had a wide influence. (See "The Death Penalty and Fair Trial," April 6, 1964). In brief, the earliest statutes assessing the death penalty left only one question for the jury - that of guilt or innocence. Most judges at this early period were so enamored of the death penalty that they did not want to share with juries the pleasure of imposing it. Only later, after juries were given some discretion about imposing the death penalty, did the practice arise of excusing jurors who had scruples about it.

The recent decision, while clearly sound, has a narrow focus. The court decided only that the death penalty could not stand when it was imposed in a jurisdiction in which the practice prevails of excusing all prospective jurors who have scruples against the penalty. In a word, the decision strikes at the penalty, not the conviction. It should put the prosecution to no disadvantage in capital cases. Cross-examination may well establish that a juror who has scruples about the penalty is quite capable of returning a fair verdict on the question of guilt or innocence. And peremptory challenges can still be used. But narrow as the decision is it may be of some assistance to 435 defendants now in death rows. If convicted by juries from which all prospective jurors acknowledging scruples against the death penalty may be set aside in their cases, though the convictions, of course, will stand. If, at some later time, it can be established that jurors favoring the death penalty are inherently "prosecution prone," then the principle of the Supreme Court's decision may be extended.

The Nation
June 24, 1968

THE TWO-FRONT ATTACK ON THE DEATH PENALTY

The death penalty today is under massive attack on two fronts, the legislative and the legal. In state legislatures, campaigns are being pressed to abolish capital punishment. In the courts, the constitutionality of the death penalty itself is being challenged.

There is growing public opposition to the death penalty. Fifteen years ago, according to national polls, 68% of the population favored capital punishment and only 25% opposed it. In 1966, only 38% favored it and 47% were opposed. In the past 11 years, five states - Alaska, Hawaii, West Virginia, Iowa and Oregon - have abolished the death penalty, joining Michigan, Wisconsin, Maine and Minnesota, which abolished it in the last century. Rhode Island, North Dakota, New York and Vermont have abolished the penalty except for narrowly defined offenses, such as murder of a policeman.

Largely because of work done by the American Civil Liberties Union, bills to repeal capital punishment laws are now before more than 20 legislatures. One was passed by Indiana in 1965, but was vetoed by the governor. Another lost in Tennessee by a single vote. Delaware abolished the penalty in 1958; then, reacting to the murder of an elderly couple, restored it in 1961. A referendum to abolish it in Colorado in 1965 was defeated largely because of three murders during the campaign. Last year and again this year, a bill in Maryland passed in one house and failed in the other.

The campaign in the courts, which is being led by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund (LDF), is already saving lives of Death Row inmates. In fact, it was the fear of large-scale executions in California and Florida last year that forced the LDF into battle. In recent years there had been unofficial moratoriums on executions in those two states. The largest Death Row populations built up there - 76 in California and 54 in Florida. When Governors Ronald Reagan and Claude Kirk took office in January, 1967, they announced that they would resume signing death warrants. "It was the prospect of wholesale slaughter which stirred us to act," an LDF lawyer said. The lawyers got court stays of all executions pending the settlement of these major constitutional arguments that are now being raised in courts across the country:

- People opposed to the death penalty are excused from capital case juries, thus violating the right of defendants to a trial by a cross section of their peers.
- The punishment is applied primarily to the poor and especially to Negroes, those least likely to get the proper defense.
- Along with deciding guilt or innocence, juries in capital cases have to set the penalty - a duty reserved for the judge in other cases. But juries, in most states, have no chance to hear mitigating evidence before setting sentence.
- The death penalty violates the Eighth Amendment which prohibits "cruel and unusual punishments."

These legal actions are being closely watched by courts and governors of other states, resulting in what is in effect a nationwide hold on all executions. In April the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit (covering North and South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia and Maryland) overturned the conviction of a man on the grounds that people with scruples against capital punishment were excluded from the jury. The U.S. Supreme Court is now considering the same issue in two other cases. Should the high court strike down the "scrupled juror" provision, prosecutors who would then face juries that included people opposed to the death sentence might settle for a lesser penalty.

Certain end to the death penalty would come if the Supreme Court ruled that it is cruel and unusual punishment. Such a revolutionary ruling may not come soon, lawyers admit, but proponents plead that the torture of the wait on Death Row, and the agony of the execution

itself, constitute cruelty. Further, they maintain that in today's society, death is a highly unusual punishment.

Meanwhile the population of Death Row increases. Eighty-five men were sentenced to die last year, and there are now about 470 inmates on Death Row. Lawyers think they can keep them all alive until they get a legal breakthrough. Even among those who favor the death penalty, there is a feeling that it is on the way out. One of these, Quinn Tamm, director of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, admits, "I Think we're fighting a losing battle."

Richard A. Woodley

THE ADMINISTRATION

Negating the Absolute. "When the state itself kills," said Attorney General Ramsey Clark, "the mandate 'Thou shalt not kill' loses the force of the absolute." Giving the Administration's backing for abolition of the federal death penalty, Clark told a Senate Judiciary subcommittee that "state-inflicted death chiefly serves to remind us how close we remain to the jungle." In failing to abolish the death penalty nationwide, the U.S. lags behind 73 foreign countries as well as 13 of its own states,* which have abolished the death sentence.

It is unlikely that the bill will reach the Senate floor, at least in a session when most politicians are plumping for stiffer crime controls to get votes. It is just this connection between crime and death sentences that the testimony sought to discredit. After Delaware, for example, reinstated capital punishment in 1961, there was an increase rather than a decrease in the number of murders. The five states with the highest murder rates - Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Florida and Mississippi - also were among the leaders in executions between 1930 and 1965.

Final Judgment. While death sentences continue to be meted out by most states and federal courts, executions are rarely performed. Compared with 1935, when there were 199, there was one in 1966 and two in 1967. Nevertheless, death row in the nation's prisons is still populated by 435 men, ranging in age from 16 to 68.

The great majority of those awaiting execution are Negroes - a proportion that has held steady ever since prison records were first kept. Between 1930 and the present, 2,066 blacks have been put to death, against 1,751 whites. Among the commonest capital charges against Negroes, especially in the South, has been rape, which is extremely difficult to prove. Yet rape convictions have accounted for executions of 405 Negroes compared with 50 of whites.

Few well-to-do prisoners are ever executed. "During my experience as Governor of Ohio," testified Michael V. DiSalle, now chairman of the National Committee to Abolish the Federal Death Penalty, "I found that the men in death row had one thing in common: they were penniless." In his four years as Governor, DiSalle passed final judgment on twelve men, six of whom went to the chair. The burden of their deaths, which still weighs on him, helps to explain the fall-off in the number of executions. For while judges and juries continue to sentence men to death, it is the Governors, in state convictions, or the President, in federal cases, who must make the final life-or-death judgment.

* The 13: Michigan, Rhode Island, Wisconsin, Maine, Minnesota, North Dakota, Alaska, Hawaii, Oregon, Iowa, West Virginia, New York, Vermont

Time
July 12, 1968

AN END TO ALL DEATH SENTENCES?

Most of the 485 prisoners under sentence of death in U.S. prisons, it is now indicated, have had a new avenue of appeal opened to them by a decision of the U.S. Supreme Court.

In a case brought before the Court from Illinois, a five-Justice majority ruled on June 3 that the death sentence cannot be imposed by a jury from which persons who oppose capital punishment have been automatically excluded.

Said Justice Potter Stewart, speaking for the majority: "No defendant can constitutionally be put to death at the hands of a tribunal so selected . . . Whatever else might be said of capital punishment, it is at least clear that its imposition by a hanging jury cannot be squared with the Constitution. The State of Illinois has stacked the deck against the petitioner. To execute this death sentence would deprive him of his life without due process of law."

Jurymen excluded. The case was that of William C. Witherspoon, sentenced to death in 1960 for murder. At his trial, the Court noted, 39 prospective jurymen were excluded "without any effort to find out whether their scruples would invariably compel them to vote against capital punishment."

The Illinois law provided for challenges of any juror "who shall . . . state that he has conscientious scruples against capital punishment, or that he is opposed to the same." Most other States have similar provisions.

The Supreme Court decision left Witherspoon's conviction standing, but ordered him resentenced.

Many legal authorities saw the ruling as a long step toward abolition of the death sentence. In Texas, Attorney General Crawford Martin said: "The ruling effectively does away with the death penalty in all States. It would be a very, very remote case where anyone would get death."

Dissent by Black. In a sharp dissent from the majority opinion, Justice Hugo L. Black said: "If this Court is to hold capital punishment unconstitutional, I think it should do so forthrightly, not by making it impossible for States to get juries that will enforce the death penalty . . . I believe that the Court's decision today goes a long way in destroying the concept of an impartial jury as we have known it."

Justices John M. Harland and Byron R. White joined in the dissent. Justice William O. Douglas filed a separate opinion, not classified as a dissent.

U.S. News and World Report
June 17, 1968

THE RAPE CASE THAT SHOOK MARYLAND

Thomas W. Lippman

The hamlet of Spencerville, Maryland seems an unlikely place for social upheaval. It is only twenty miles from Washington and the same distance from Baltimore, but the gulf between Spencerville and its big-city neighbors might better be measured in time than in space. In Spencerville, people still pick up their mail at the general store and call Negroes by their first names, and on summer nights fish and swim in the Patuxent River just up the road. For all its rural simplicity, it is located in Montgomery County, which also contains Bethesda, Chevy Chase, and Silver Spring with their disproportionate number of the educated, the rich, the powerful, and the concerned. And it was their interest that brought about a reconsideration of the now historic Giles case.

At the start there was nothing about the case to stir the imagination and interest of such people. It began at midnight on July 20, 1961, while three young Negroes, the brothers John and James Giles and their friend Joseph Johnson, aged twenty-two, twenty, and twenty-three respectively, were fishing in the Patuxent, in a secluded wooded cove at the foot of Batson Road near Spencerville - an area known as a local lovers' lane. As they fished, a car pulled up on the bank behind them. Its occupants were three young men and a sixteen year old girl, all white. What happened in the hour that followed has grown less clear with the passage of time, but those present agreed on these basic events: Two of the white men left the car to find an open filling station, leaving the girl alone in the rear seat with Stewart Lee Foster, a young tough with a reputation for bigotry. As the three Negroes attempted to go past the car on their way home, disparaging remarks were exchanged, a fight broke out, Foster was punched and knocked down, the girl fled into the woods. John Giles and then the other young Negroes followed her. She removed her clothes, and at least two of them had intercourse with her. She did not resist or cry out for help. Foster came to and ran to the nearest house to summon help. The police were called; spotlights, barking dogs, and shouts of searchers shattered the silent rural darkness. Johnson was arrested within six hours at his home in Spencerville, James Giles later the same day. John Giles gave himself up two days later.

The Sentence. Charged with rape, the Giles brothers were tried before Judge James H. Pugh, Jr., of the Montgomery County Circuit Court in December, 1961. (Johnson's lawyer had asked that he be tried separately outside Montgomery County.) In giving her testimony, the girl told a simple story. She fled out of fear, she said, when the Negroes smashed some windows of the car. After stumbling into the woods, she undressed and submitted to both the Giles brothers and Johnson because she felt they might otherwise harm her.

By contrast, the account given by the Giles brothers sounded ludicrous. They insisted that John Giles did not have relations with her at all, that she had solicited intercourse with the two others, that she had told them she was on probation and would have to say she was raped if anyone found her out, that she had already been with "sixteen or seventeen boys" that week and a few more made no difference to her.

The prosecutor, Leonard T. Kardy, had little trouble discrediting that tale. He pointed out its incongruity with the circumstances - a young white girl alone in the darkness, pursued by three strange Negroes, in fear for her life after seeing them attack her companion. The all-white jury deliberated only an hour before bringing in a verdict against the brothers. The jurors had received no instructions from Judge Pugh as to what law applied, nor had he given them the legal definition of rape; he left it to them to determine the law, as juries in Maryland are required to do. In pronouncing sentence, the judge was blunt about his own feelings: "By your vicious act," he told the Giles brothers, "you are not

entitled to any consideration by this court." When John Giles replied simply, "I said I didn't rape her and they (the police and the girl) said I didn't rape her, and so that is all," Judge Pugh replied that the jury "didn't believe you; and the jury rightly didn't believe you." He sentenced the brothers to die in the gas chamber.

The case might have ended there but for the stirrings of shock and curiosity among local residents over the death sentence. Not until much later did they question the youths' guilt. The first person to do something about her "sense of horror at the imposition of death on two young men when . . . she admittedly made no resistance and even co-operated," was Mrs. Howard Ross, a Silver Spring housewife whose maid, Mary, was the mother of John and James Giles. Mrs. Ross believed that if the boys had not been Negroes they would not have been sentenced to death. In the summer of 1962, just before Joseph Johnson was tried, she organized the Giles-Johnson Defense Committee.

Meanwhile an editorial questioning the sentence appeared in the weekly newspaper in Rockville, the county seat. Dr. Harold Knapp, a Defense Department scientist, read it and, with no thought of the consequences, wrote a letter to the editor saying that the death sentence seemed uncalled for. Months later, he was startled to receive a Christmas card in return. It was delivered behind the prison walls in February of 1963.

During this time, the Giles case had been winding its normal way towards the Maryland Court of Appeals. There were fewer grounds for second-guessing a conviction at that time than there are now, and the appeal was unsuccessful. In April, 1963, the brothers' lawyer made a routine appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, which refused to consider the case for want of a substantial Federal question and allowed the Circuit Court conviction to stand.

Meanwhile, Johnson had also been tried and sentenced to death. By this time, Knapp's interest had been thoroughly aroused. He now joined forces with Mrs. Ross and went to work in earnest.

It was clear to the Defense Committee that the only real issue to raise was the credibility of the state's two principal witnesses, the girl and Foster. There had been little opportunity at the trial to challenge their testimony, because little was known about Foster, and the girl's juvenile records were closed to the public. Knapp determined to learn more.

Knapp remembered what the brothers had testified the girl told them about herself that July night in the woods. He realized that it was all unlikely, but it was also unlikely that John Giles could invent such a story. He went to Hyattsville, the girl's home town, to learn what he could about her.

With the assistance of the state's attorney in her home county, Knapp researched and prepared a long report to Governor J. Millard Tawes. It disclosed that the girl had had an "incredible history" of promiscuity since she was fourteen and that juvenile authorities had recommended placing her on probation as beyond her parents' control. She also had a history of mental instability and had filed earlier unfounded rape claims.

The Defense Committee's charge that Prosecutor Leonard Kardy knew all this but had deliberately suppressed it (although Kardy himself denied the charge) became the principal argument in the last years of the case. Armed with Knapp's report in the fall of 1963, the committee asked Governor Tawes to reduce the three death sentences to eighteen months' imprisonment, the minimum under Maryland law.

By this time, the Giles-Johnson case was drawing wide attention. Edward P. Morgan denounced the death sentences on TV as a "monstrous miscarriage of justice." Washington radio stations asked the governor to grant the clemency petition. The NAACP staged a vigil on

the steps of the executive mansion in Annapolis. On October 24, three weeks before the young Negroes were due to be executed, Governor Tawes commuted their sentences to life imprisonment. The life sentences imposed on three young men, who by then he had come to suspect were innocent, hardened Harold Knapp's determination to help them.

'Gettin There' John and James Giles and Joseph Johnson were in constant contact with the Knapps and Mrs. Ross, but as far as the public was concerned they faded into the background. The case now turned into a personal battle between Knapp and Prosecutor Kardy, hard fought on both sides.

In the course of his pursuit of the facts, Knapp was sued by members of the girl's family, verbally attacked in court by Kardy, harassed by the police, and frustrated by red tape. "It takes me forever to get all the stuff down and documented," he wrote, "but I'm gettin' there." His private life was subjected to public scorn, and it was no longer possible for him to take a detached view of the case.

Joseph Forer and Hal Witt, the Washington lawyers hired by the committee to conduct the legal appeals, decided to concentrate on the Giles case and hold Johnson's in abeyance until the brothers' case was settled. On May 11, 1964, they filed a "petition for relief," allowed when normal appeals have failed.

The defense lawyers knew by now that Montgomery police had given testimony in the trial that conflicted with their testimony at the preliminary hearing. Yet three years later Kardy admitted under oath that he had checked nothing in the case, relying solely on reports from the policemen (all white in Montgomery County) to sustain his charge.

Under a quaint ruling in Maryland law, none of the new evidence uncovered by Knapp was admissible in a post-conviction hearing. But the issue of suppression was enough for Judge Walter H. Moorman, who heard Forer and Witt's "petition for relief" in Montgomery County Circuit Court in November, 1964. Judge Moorman ruled that the Giles brothers had been denied due process of law and ordered a new trial. But his decision was appealed by Prosecutor Kardy, and in July of 1965 the state Court of Appeals overruled Judge Moorman. The Defense Committee determined to take the case to the U.S. Supreme Court once again. On March 21, 1966, the justices agreed to hear arguments.

The Supreme Court demanded the notes taken by the investigating officers at the time of the crime. Four dissenting justices attacked what they considered an unwarranted intrusion by the court into state affairs, but the court finally ruled that the Giles brothers were entitled to re-examination of their case because of the conflicting testimony of the police. And so, on May 15, 1967, the case was back before Judge Moorman for a new post-conviction proceeding.

The strain was beginning to tell on Knapp and other members of the committee. The Giles brothers looked as if they knew they were pawns in a game that was taking too long to play. Even more than a year earlier, James Giles had written from prison that the case "has long since lost whatever meaning I might have once placed on it. Four years - an awfully long time to spend in a place like this."

By this time, however, Leonard Kardy had been succeeded in office by a gentlemanly young lawyer, William A. Linthicum, Jr. Linthicum surprised the judge and the committee by announcing that he had made his own investigation into the police testimony, found conflicts, and decided that a new trial was justified. Judge Moorman agreed, as he had before.

By now feelings were running so high in Montgomery County that at the prosecution's request the trial was moved to Towson, near Baltimore. There, on July 5, 1967, Judge John G. Turnbull decided that the Giles brothers had been in prison long enough, "with only a charge

against them," and ordered their release on bond, an unusual move in a capital case. Knapp put up the deed to his home to raise money.

Linthicum's problem now was to produce his witnesses. In the six years since the first trial, the girl in the case had married, moved away, and settled down in Florida. On the day the trial opened in October, 1967, Linthicum put a county policeman on the stand to testify that both she and Foster were unavailable. The girl, the policeman said, simply refused to come back, and a Florida judge had declined to order her to appear. All he said about Foster was that he too was in Florida, attempting to come home for the trial. (In fact, Foster was in jail in North Carolina.)

Linthicum asked Judge W. Albert Menchine for permission to place in the record a transcript of the testimony from the first trial. Judge Menchine, noting that the credibility of that testimony was the whole issue, denied the request. This left Linthicum no choice but to drop the prosecution. The Defense Committee had won out at last.

One More Obstacle. Now that the Giles brothers were free, Johnson began to look forward to the day of his own release. The testimony and evidence against him were substantially the same as those in the Giles case and an acquittal seemed sure. But Linthicum, after a consultation with the state attorney general, decided to oppose a new trial. His opposition was based on his opinion that the first Johnson trial was free of the defects that clouded the Giles case. He suggested that Johnson apply for a pardon instead.

Here the Defense Committee rushed into its greatest tactical error. Buoyed into a sense of confidence by the public sentiment over the Giles case, they rejected the suggestion and demanded a hearing on Johnson's petition for a new trial. Their statement was accompanied by harsh words about Linthicum. They felt, as the Washington Post put it, that "it is sickening to see the state search for legal technicalities to obstruct what decency demands."

Forer was brilliant in his arguments before Judge E. Mackall Childs of the Anne Arundel County Circuit Court, where Johnson's hearing was held last November. He pointed out that the police had lied, that Kardy had suppressed evidence, that the girl's credibility was nil. He said it was "intolerable" for the State of Maryland to keep Joseph Johnson in prison. But Judge Childs was openly hostile to Johnson, to Forer, and to the Supreme Court in three days of arguments, and his nineteen page opinion was prepared before the final arguments. Late in January he gave his decision, rejecting every one of Forer's pleas. He found no reason, he said, to reopen the Johnson case.

The committee had trouble deciding on the next step. Johnson was taking his continued confinement very hard. His emotional state had deteriorated since the release of the Giles brothers. He needed to be free. But an appeal of Judge Childs' decision would take many months.

People were beginning to criticize the committee, to say publicly what many had felt for a long time - that the committee did not want the case to end, that it had become part of its members' lives. It was suspected that they cared more about an acquittal for the Giles brothers and about discrediting Kardy than about freeing Johnson.

This talk was quickly silenced when Johnson, after consulting with the committee, instructed Forer to ask for a pardon. He had been told that Governor Spiro T. Agnew, as an outspoken opponent of capital punishment, would give the request favorable consideration.

The governor's announcement of Johnson's pardon in early February, within a week of its request, was almost an anticlimax. Two members of the Maryland legislature, repeating the story that the Defense Committee was more interested in pursuing its attack on Kardy than in helping Johnson, had requested action by the governor even before Johnson's formal petition

was filed. And Kardy and Linthicum both lent their support to the petition. The governor, after receiving a report from his secretary of state on the case, ordered Johnson unconditionally freed without commenting on the conduct or motives of anyone involved in the case.

Knapp, who met Johnson at the gates, said the Defense Committee would continue to function to assist him in "taking his place in society." In prison Johnson learned spray painting, and he hopes to take it up again. John Giles is now working as a landscape gardener, the trade he learned in prison. James is a college freshman. The girl has a husband, two children, and a determination not to discuss the case. Foster has a long criminal record and a divorce. Kardy has a successful private practice. Harold Knapp and Mrs. Ross have three devoted young friends.

Montgomery County has changed too. This spring, its first full-time public defender will take office. This innovation, initiated by William W. Greenhalgh, a student of criminal law and president of the county council, is designed to fill the need so keenly evident in the Giles case, the lack of investigative resources in indigents' cases.

The county's police force is all-white as it was back in 1961, but that will almost certainly be changed before the end of the year. Maryland's antiquated rule requiring juries to assess the law as well as the facts is to be eliminated with a new constitution this summer. Criminal proceedings in Montgomery County and the State of Maryland are finally catching up with the twentieth century. The Giles case helped.

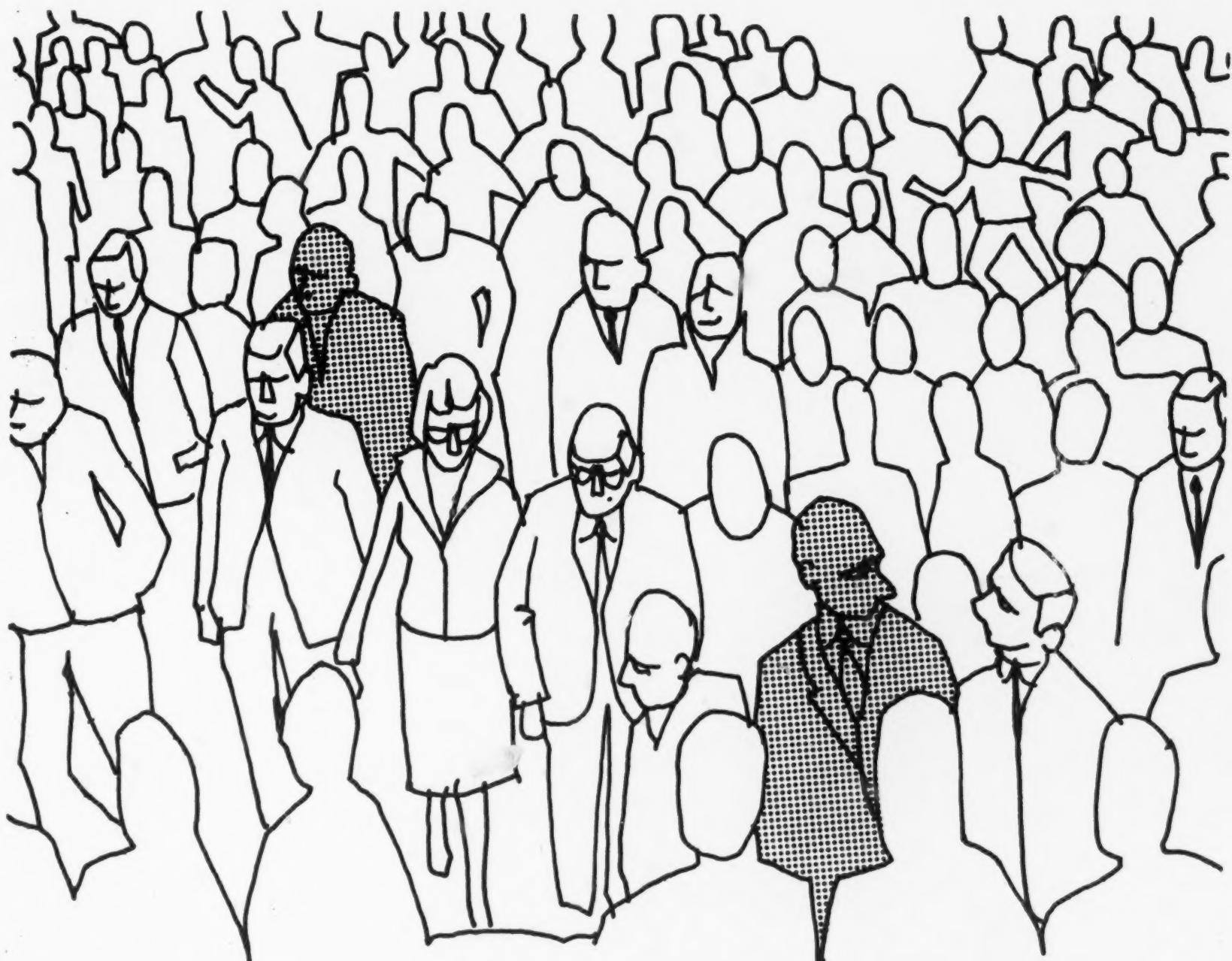
The Reporter
March 7, 1968

TRANSPARENCY MASTERS

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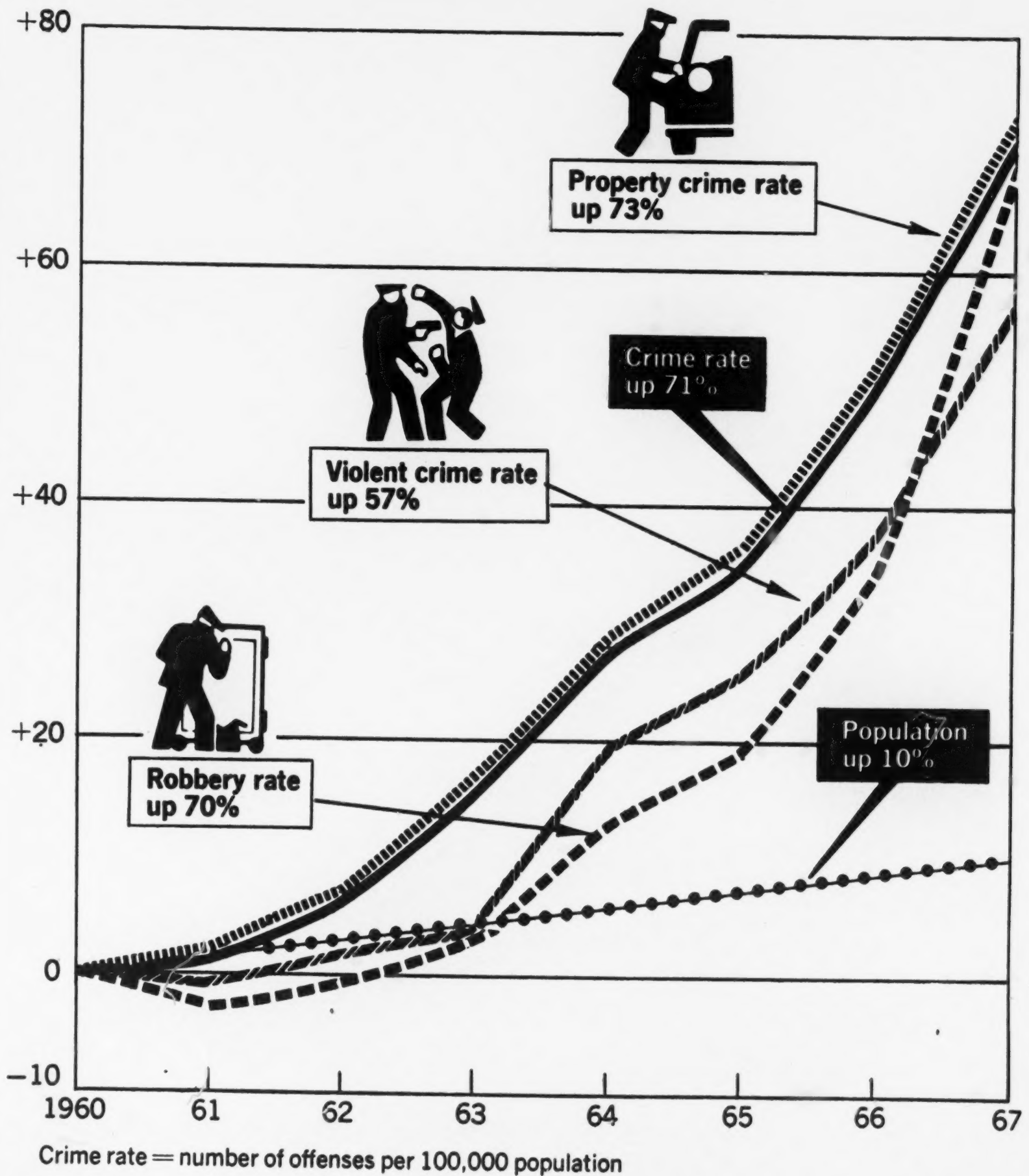
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**TWO OUT OF EVERY HUNDRED
AMERICANS WILL FALL VICTIM TO A
SERIOUS CRIME THIS YEAR**

U.S. CRIME RATE RISES



VISUAL

2

CRIME AND CRIMINALS, SEPT. 20, 1968

Based on FBI statistics

TWO SIGNIFICANT TRENDS IN 1967

Upsurge of crime in suburbs

Large cities — crime up 7%

Suburbs — crime up 16%



Rising number
of youths involved in crime

One third of those involved
in solved crimes were under 18.



VISUAL

3

CONTROLLING CRIME AND LAWLESSNESS: WHAT IS THE ANSWER?



VISUAL

4

CRIME AND CRIMINALS, SEPT. 20, 1968

335

321

VISUALS 1, 2, 3 and 4—Law and Order: U.S. Crime Rate Shows Sharp Rise in 1967

VISUAL 1

WHAT THE VISUAL SHOWS: This is one of the statistics in the FBI's recently released annual report on crime in the U.S. In 1967 the risk of becoming a victim of serious crime—ranging from robbery to murder—in-

creased 15 per cent over 1966. The "two out of every hundred" figure is a national average; in some places the odds of being a victim are much worse. In Los Angeles, New York and Miami, for instance, chances rise to about one in 25. Los Angeles, in fact, has the highest crime rate in the country.

VISUAL 2

WHAT THE VISUAL SHOWS: This chart, based on FBI figures, shows a steady increase in the U.S. crime rate since 1961. Although the population has increased only 10 per cent since 1960, the crime rate has gone up 71 per cent. In 1967 serious crime rose 16 per cent; over 3.8 million serious crimes were reported, of which 3.3 million were property offenses. Violent crime (murder, rape, felonious assault and robbery) and property crime (burglary, larceny and auto theft) showed roughly the same increase in 1967. But among violent crimes, one category showed a particularly startling increase: the robbery rate was up 27 per cent.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION: *Until this year, many academic experts seriously questioned the FBI's statistics and tended to discount the FBI's cries of alarm about a dangerously increasing crime rate. Why? Most dissenting criminologists centered their criticism on the reliability of the FBI's statistics. First of all, the FBI crime index measures only reported crime (the FBI acknowledges in its 1967 report that "there is no way of determining the total number of crimes which are committed"). Critics have argued that more conscientious reporting of crime by the public could account for the increase. Further, it is possible that the over-all total has*

been inflated by better reporting of relatively minor property crimes—crimes that account for 87 per cent of the total number of offenses in the crime index. Thefts, for instance, must be reported in order for the victim to claim insurance losses or income-tax deductions. Finally, the FBI's figures failed to consider that young people are responsible for a large percentage of crimes committed and that the population is getting younger.

Many experts who previously discounted the FBI's statistics are taking this year's report seriously. Why? The most unsettling statistic in this year's report was the 27 per cent jump in robberies, a category that includes armed robbery, muggings, bank holdups and thefts involving threat of bodily harm. Experts consider robbery an accurate indicator of a country's tendency toward criminal violence because generally the violence is used on strangers. Further, unlike other areas, most robberies are believed to be reported to the police. Thus a reported increase in robberies is considered more reliable than an increase in other areas.

Lloyd E. Ohlin, professor of criminology at Harvard Law School and a critic of FBI statistics, commented on the robbery statistics: "Although I'm pretty good at explaining crime increases away, I simply do not have an explanation for this. Some part of it must reflect a change in the readiness of people to resort to armed attack against strangers."

VISUAL 3

WHAT THE VISUAL SHOWS: Here are two particularly unsettling trends that emerged from the FBI's 1967 report. First, suburban areas continued to show a sharp upswing in the volume of crime. Although a much higher volume of crime occurs in the large cities, violent crimes—except murder—showed a greater relative upsurge in the suburbs (16 per cent) than in cities with more than 1 million inhabitants (up 7 per cent). In other words, crime seems to be spreading rapidly to what has been consid-

ered until this point the safety of the suburbs.

The second trend concerns the growing number of young people involved in reported crime. Thirty-three per cent of all solved crimes involved persons under 18 years of age; yet the 10-to-17 age group makes up only about 15 per cent of the total United States population. Between 1960 and 1967, police arrests of persons under 18 rose 69 per cent, while the number of persons in the 10-to-17 age group increased 22 per cent. Thus the involvement rate of juveniles is continuing at a pace more than three times that of their population increase.

VISUAL 4

WHAT THE VISUAL SHOWS: The newest FBI statistics are almost certain to figure in the "law and order" debate as the Presidential campaign intensifies. The visual presents some of the alternatives proposed by various sides in that debate.

The school of thought reflected on the left side of the scale holds that a long-run trend toward violence can be stemmed only by a long-range program that emphasizes

social justice, just laws and better law enforcement through better training.

On the other side are the "hard-liners," who argue for a crackdown and legislation to reverse court decisions such as those safeguarding the rights of criminal suspects under interrogation. These, they feel, interfere with enforcement of existing laws.

FOR DISCUSSION: *What effect might the desire for votes on the parts of other candidates have on the law-and-order debate over the next two months?*

CRIME IN THE CITIES

(Figures represent crimes per 100,000 inhabitants)

<u>CITY</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u> (Jan.-Sept. only)
Baltimore	1194	1590	2089	1466
Boston	844	1522	1709	627
Chicago	1931	2260	2049	1316
Cleveland	712	1183	1190	677
Detroit	1616	1927	2200	1262
Los Angeles	2679	3263	3567	1592
New York	1391	1847	1982	2115
Philadelphia	954	1192	1296	520
Pittsburg	924	1102	1304	534
St. Louis	1725	1917	1917	903
San Francisco	1607	2317	2539	785
Washington	1187	2073	2171	1034
source: FBI Uniform Crime Reports				

CRIME EPIDEMIC HITS NEW HIGH

Serious Crimes in U.S.

YEAR-BY-YEAR RISE
IN CRIMES AGAINST
PEOPLE AND PROPERTY

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968*
MURDERS	9,000	8,600	8,400	8,500	9,300	9,900	10,900	12,100	14,200
FORCED RAPES	16,900	16,900	17,200	17,300	21,000	23,000	25,300	27,100	31,300
ROBBERIES	107,400	106,200	110,400	116,000	129,800	138,100	157,300	202,100	261,500
AGGRAVATED ASSAULTS	152,000	154,400	162,100	171,600	200,000	212,100	231,800	253,300	290,000
BURGLARIES	897,400	934,200	978,200	1,068,800	1,193,600	1,261,800	1,387,200	1,605,700	1,885,000
CRIMES OF \$500 OR OVER	506,200	528,500	573,100	648,500	732,000	792,300	894,600	1,047,100	1,292,000
AUTO THEFTS	325,700	333,500	364,100	405,200	469,300	493,100	557,000	654,900	815,000

Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation

*Based on crimes reported in first six months

STATISTICS RELATED TO CIVIL DISORDERS

Crimes and Police Assignments per 100,000 Residents
in Three Chicago Police Districts, 1965

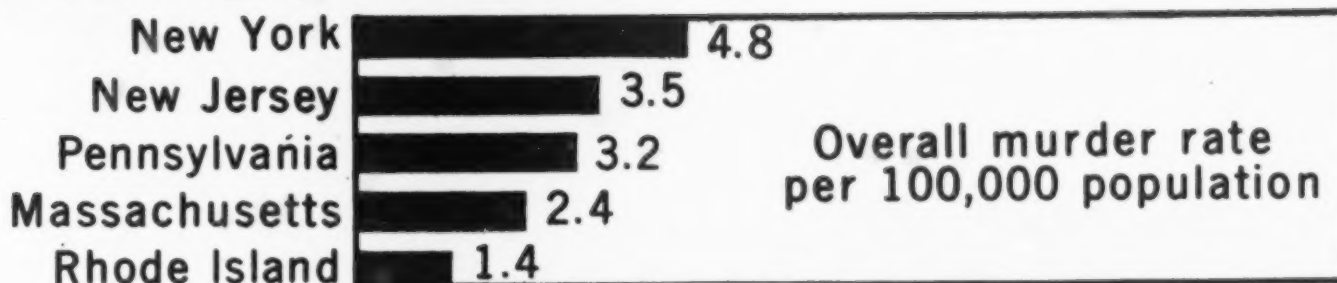
	High-Income White	Mixed-Income White	Low-Income Nonwhite
Crimes Against Persons	80	338	2,820
Crimes Against Property	1,038	2,080	2,630
Patrolmen Assigned	93	115	291

Number of Cases per 1,000 Persons in New York City Neighborhoods, 1965

	Juvenile Delinquency Offenses (7-20 years)	Children Getting Aid	Welfare Recipients
Brownsville — mostly Negro	125.3	459.0	265.8
Harlem — mostly Negro	110.8	265.7	138.1
New York City as a whole	52.2	120.7	60.8

MORE GUNS, MORE DEATHS

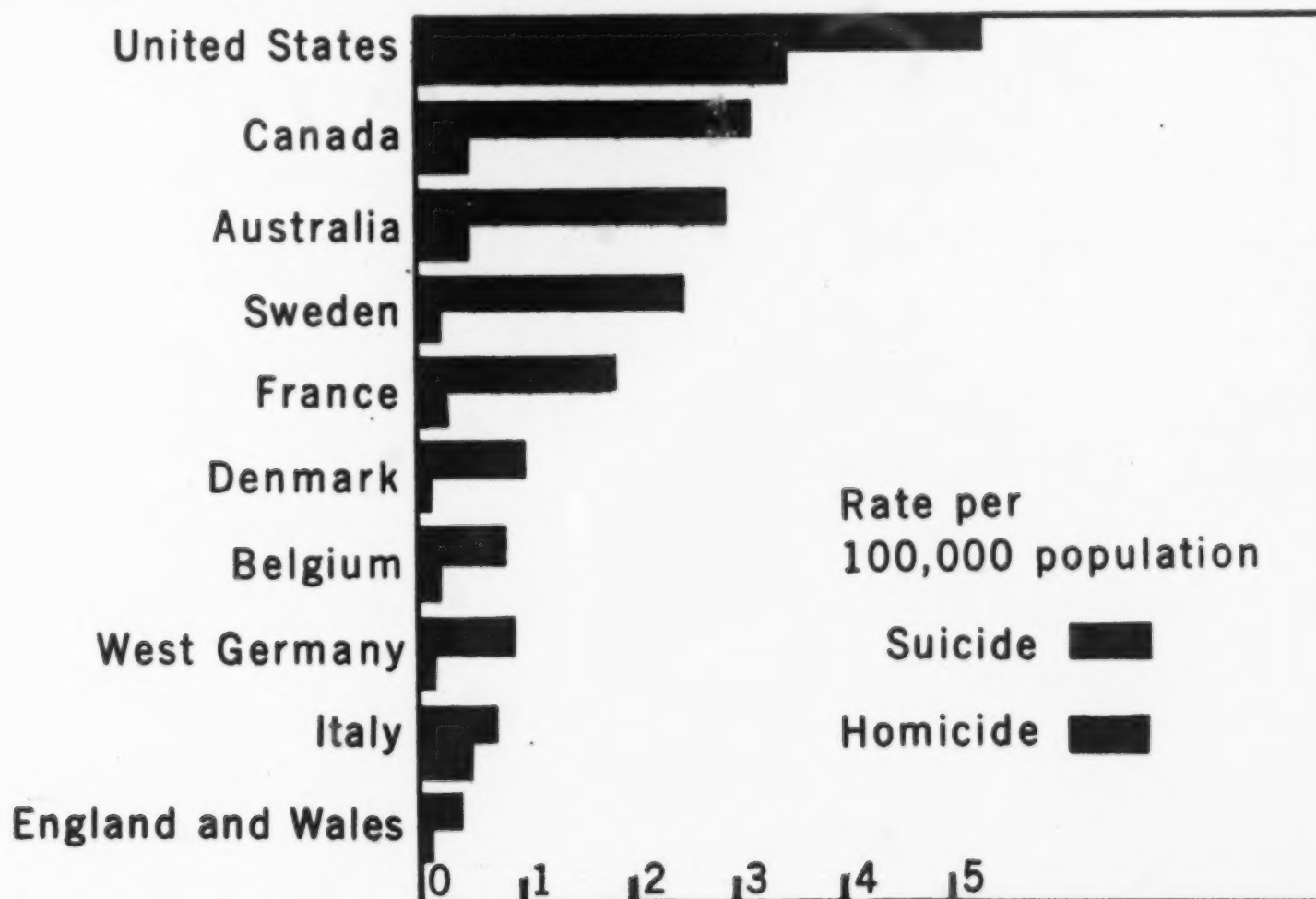
STRONG GUN LAW STATES



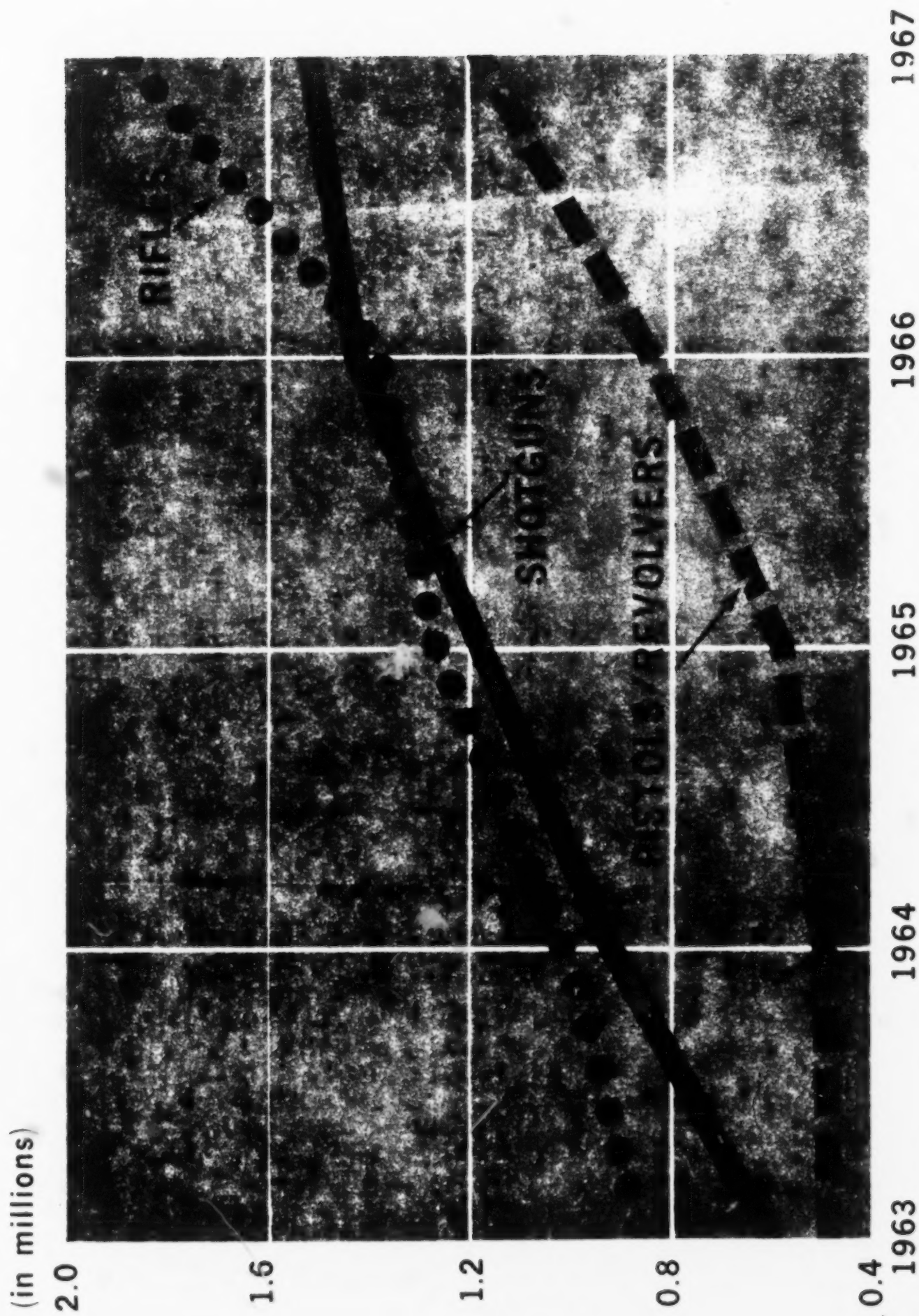
WEAK GUN LAW STATES

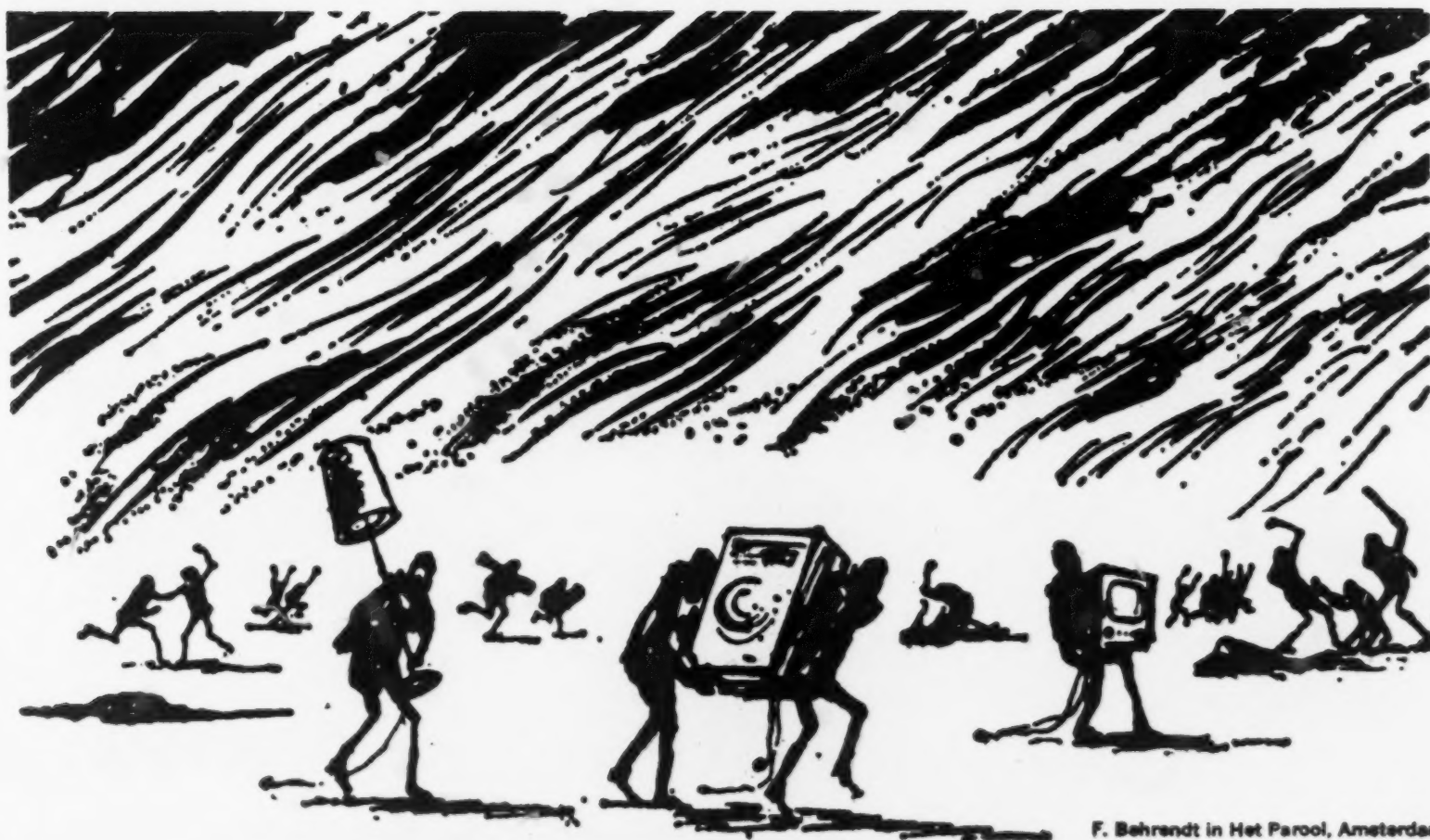


Deaths by firearms in foreign countries with strict controls are significantly lower than in the U.S.



FIREARMS SALES IN UNITED STATES FOR INDIVIDUAL USE ARE UP SHARPLY.





F. Behrendt in Het Parool, Amsterdam

"Requiem for non-violence."

When white America killed Dr. King she declared war on us . . . We have to retaliate for the deaths of our leaders.
--Stokely Carmichael

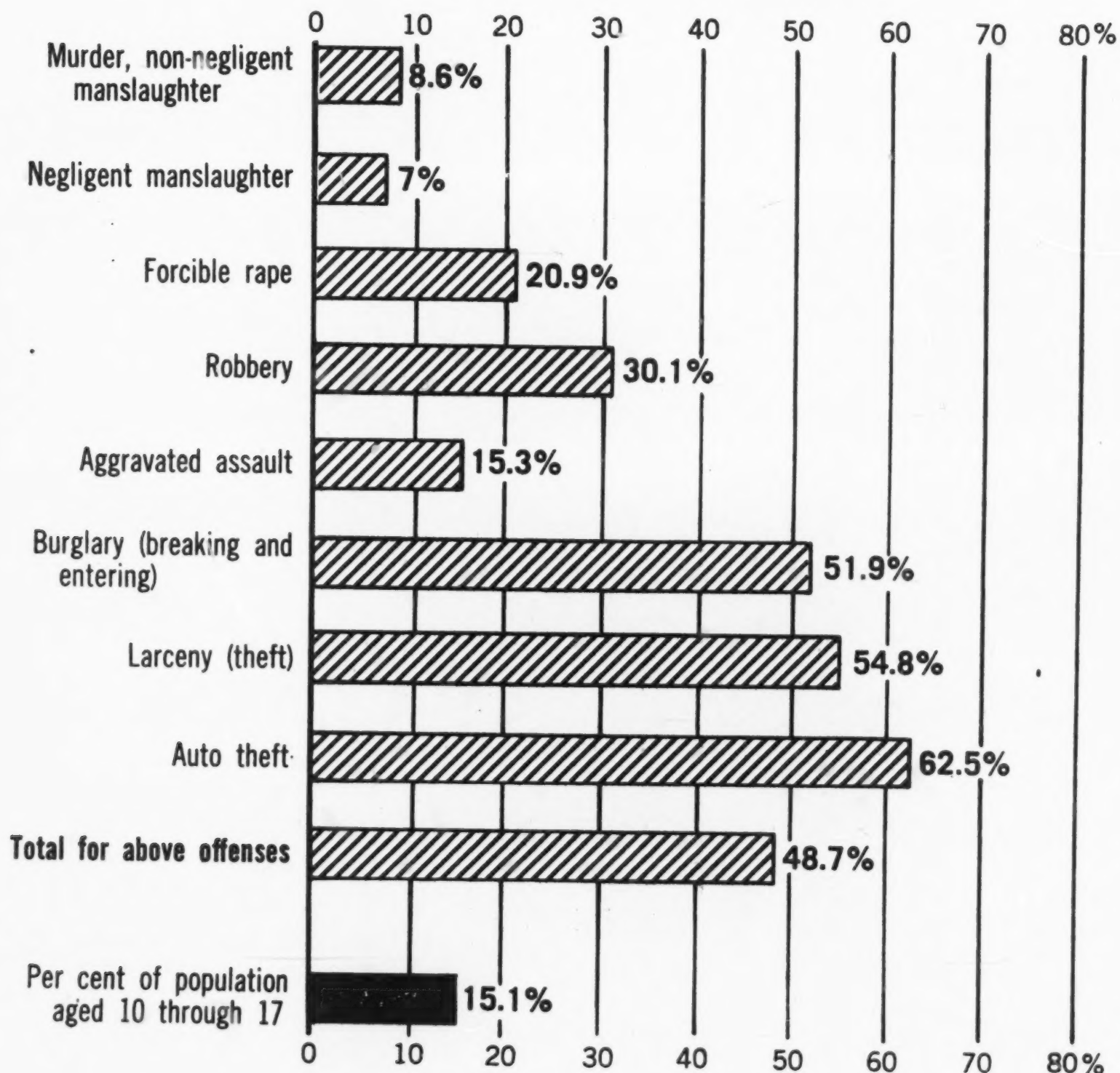
Anyone with a Molotov cocktail . . . is a potential murderer . . . and should be shot right on the spot.
--Chicago Mayor Richard Daley

The only fitting memorial to this martyred leader is a monumental commitment--now, not a day later--to eliminate racism.--James Farmer

We can work together again for progress and peace in this city and this nation, for now I believe we are ready to scale the mountain from which Dr. King saw the promised land.--New York Mayor John Lindsay

JUVENILES ARRESTED FOR SELECTED MAJOR CRIMES 1965

(Expressed as percentage of all persons arrested)



1. What is the legal definition of "juvenile" in your state? Does it vary from state to state?
2. Do you think the law should treat juvenile and adult offenders differently? If so, explain what differences in treatment you would recommend. If not, why not?
3. For which crimes are more juveniles arrested than adults? What circumstances do you think cause this?

RECOMMENDED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON SOCIAL PATHOLOGY

NOTE: Dewey number indicates that the book is in either the Kennedy or Lincoln High School Library.

<u>DEWEY NUMBER</u>	<u>AUTHOR</u>	<u>TITLE</u>
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616.86	Block, Marvin	Alcoholism
178	Cain, Arthur	Young People and Drinking
178	Furnas, J.	The Life and Times of the Late Demon Run
F	Lewiton, Mina	Cup of Courage
301.476861	Pittman, David	Alcoholism
613.8	Rice, Thurman	Effects of Alcoholic Drinks, Tobacco, Sedatives, Narcotics
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F	Sherburne, Zoa	Jennifer
613.8	Sinclair, Upton	Cup of Fury
614.86 Un	U.S. Dept. of H,E & W	Alcohol and Traffic Safety
613.8	Whitney, Elizabeth	The Lonely Sickness
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343 Be	Bedau, Hugo	The Death Penalty
364 Bi	Bishop, George	Executions
364.6 Di	DiSalle, Michael	The Power of Life or Death
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343 La	Laurence, John	History of Capital Punishment
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364 Ko	Konn, Richard R.	Criminology and Penology
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364.36 GL	Glueck, Sheldon	Problems of Delinquency
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F Joh	Johnson, Annabel	Pickpocket Run
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Juvenile Delinquency
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Mental illness
Mentally ill - Care and treatment
Mentally retarded
Narcotic habit
Narcotics
Urban renewal

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